Matthew Engel

HE cricketing celebrity Ian Botham is facing, if not quite ruin, then at least a severe blow to his lifestyle after losing his marathon libel case against the former Pakistan captain Imran Khan.

After 13 days in Court 13 at the High Court, the jury last week decided by a majority verdict against claims by Botham and his former England team-mate Allan Lamb that they had been called racist and lacking class by Imran in the magazine
India Today, They also rejected by a
majority Botham's charge that Imran had, by implication, called him a cheat in a British newspaper

Halfway through the trial Imran agreed that Botham did not cheat at cricket, and he will have to pay for that part of the case. However, after an exercise estimated to have cost \$750,000. Botham and Lamb will have to bear the brunt.

Botham said he was "astonished" by the verdict, a view shared by many observers. Speculation during the jury's 4% hour deliberation centred only on the damages award. The judge, Mr Justice French, gave the jurors — seven men, five women - a notably curt thank you and then left, without a word of apology for obliging them to spend three weeks of high summer cooped up listening to an argument that was at best abstruse and at times absurd.

It was the second sudden defeat for English cricketers inside three days: England lost nine wickets to Pakistan's bowlers in the Lord's clear warning to potential lightants that the libel casino, once presumed

Cryptic crossword by Chifonie



Imran Khan and his wife, Jemima, leaving the High Court last week

behalf. The implications for cricket are uncertain, though Pakistani players may now have enhanced respect for English decision-making, and it may help ensure that the rest of this summer's Test series is harmonious. It is good news for Imran's presumed career in Pakistani poli

But the verdict has sent out a

making his final speech on limran's | to be a certain source of ready cash, | is now only about as safe as Lloyd's

Almighty, rather than to Mr Carman, when he left with his pregnan wife, Sir James Goldsmith's daughter Jemima. Botham and Lamb, ob serving the best cricketing traditions, accepted the umpire's decision with as much grace as they could manage and Botham said he would just have to go back to his

The alleged libels were published in 1994, and in the hours before the case opened there were intense efforts by Imran's lawyers to reach a settlement. These foundered because the proffered apology was considered too grudging and be-cause Botham and Lamb wanted damages — even though a third party had offered to pay both sides' costs up to that point. As the case went on, and devel-

oped into a bonfire of fivers about one every 20 seconds, according to the best guesses - there was a growing sense of the absurd.

Imran's attempts to prove Botham had cheated by picking the seam or gouging a cricket ball failed utterly when his videos from 14year-old Test matches purporting to prove this were adopted by Botham's own counsel, Charles Gray QC, and clearly showed him manipulating, quite legally, a ball that had gone out of shape.

The argument then largely went into semantics about the distinction between cheating and merely breaking the rules. There was no consensus among the cricketers about whether ball-tampering had ever been accepted as custom and practice within the game.

Imran made no attempt to defend the suggestions that Botham and amb were racist or lacked class, and claimed that he had been mis

In the absence of substantive dis agreement between the parties, the jury may well have taken the view that the case should never have come to court.

cricketers trooped through the courtroom giving evidence. The Possibly they decided to punis the plaintiffs, as the presumed perpetrators of their incarceration. The poenaed by Imran, appeared wearlegal system is such that we shall never know without breaking the rules, or perhaps cheating.

in front of the 7th green after

naries had rounds of 70.

Daly and the other three lumi-

Montgomerie, who finished 12th, was the most satisfied with

his last outing before the USPGA Championship in Kentucky. "I

drove and putted well, and I

Westwood, richer by

could do very well in the USA,"

£116,660, is now fourth in the

European rankings, and is cer-

tain to win a place in England's team for the Dunhill Cup at St Andrews in October. That alone

justifies the decision he made in

April to entrust his game to the former Tour player Peter Cowen, now teaching at Lindrick.

"I have made almost an

overnight transformation," said Westwood. "My first coach, John

King, was very good but I had got

essively in recent weeks."

into a play-safe attitude. Peter

has got me hitting the ball mor

Westwood's only problem,

play-off with an inward 33, was

to avoid the last-hole error he

after earning his place in the

aking a seven.

he said.

TheGuardian Wesly

James Meek In Moscow

he jived on stage at those Russian

rock concerts on the election trail in

It was a broken promise for which

was responsible. But when the ailing

with unabated ferocity this week.

Scores of soldiers, rebels and civil-

ians have died. Alexander Lebed

Mr Yeltsin's national security ad-

viser, is to be given unprecedented

powers to solve the crisis, the ex-

paratroop general announced last

Fears that Mr Yeltsin's health will

year term, ushering in a backstage

power struggle for a successor

were not allayed by the president's

awkward appearance at the inaugu-

ration ceremony. He strode sternly

on to the stage in the Kremlin, in front of some 3,000 guests, and

stood stiffly for 16 minutes, swear

ing the oath with his hand on a copy

of the constitution. He spoke slowly

and slurred his words as he under-

took to "loyally serve the people".

broken promises to remember.

been atoned for.

Vol 155, No 7 Week ending August 18, 1998



Police intervene as Turkish Cypriots beat a Greek Cypriot during clashes across the partitioned island at the weekend. A Greek Cypriot was killed and more than 50 people from both sides of the communal divide were injured during a protest against Turkey's occupation of the north PHOTOGRAPH COSTAS NYBIANDES

Khmer Rouge troops turn against Pol Pot

Nick Cumming-Bruce in Bangkok

AMBODIA'S western border with Thailand is expected to be the scene of another upsurge in fighting — this time between differ-

ent units of the Khmer Rouge. The commanders of two Khmer Rouge divisions, with an estimated 3,000 troops occupying strategic points on the border, are breaking from Pol Pot and suing for peace

Barely two months after the emergence of rumours — never substantiated — that Pol Pot was dead, a schism has developed in the leadership of the Khmer Rouge.

Speculation now centres on the intentions and whereabouts of leng Sary, one of Pol Pot's oldest and closest associates. Khmer Rouge radio has denounced him for treachery, saying he should be executed for allowing government troops into

suggests that Mr Sary, who is also | Poipet, and hailed them as "our closely identified with the brutal horrors of Khmer Rouge rule, may have arrived in Bangkok to negotiate a deal with Phnom Penh to be allowed in from the jungle.

Cambodia's joint prime minister, Hun Sen, once bitterly hostile to a deal with Khmer Rouge leaders, appears to have made an about-turn, saying last week that Mr Sary could not expect a ministerial appointment but promising defectors offi-

cial positions and property.

The two divisional comma controlling Phnom Malai and Pailin have issued statements saying that they now follow Mr Sary and are seeking national reconciliation. They also appear to be marshalling their forces to repel possible attacks by forces loyal to Pol Pot and his

nardcore military chiefs. Mr Sen, who prematurely claimed last week that the two commanders had defected, said on Monday that they had now linked up with govern-

brothers and sisters". He added that the Khmer Rouge command had ordered its forces to attack them. Khmer Rouge radio said on Mon-

day that separate committees had been appointed to manage the Malai and Pailin areas. But the leadership now faces either a bloody operation to reclaim them or the loss of key positions in the defence of Khmer Rouge heartland.

Malai has long been an impreg-nable base, offering easy access to Thailand and within striking range of the only major road linking Thai-land and government-controlled towns. Pailin lies near the centre of lucrative Khmer Rouge gem-mining and timber operations.

The defection of several thousand troops is a body blow to Pol Pot's rump command, already thought to have shrunk to fewer than 10,000 men. If Malai and Pailin slide into government control, Pol Pot's army will be largely confined to a remote

just the same as they did before Nothing has changed," she said HE most risky campaign They just move one regiment out promise Boris Yeltsin made and put another one in." was never spoken out loud. It Promises to spend billions of dolwas all in the twist of his big body as

lars rebuilding the ruined city of Grozny are also in question. Presidential and governmental decrees on Chechen reconstruction are on a list of 56 high-cost pledges, many linked to the presidential election campaign, due to be axed by a team set up to keep the budget deficit within the limits agreed with the laternational Monetary Fund.

president took the oath of office in the Kremlin last week, the live tele Details of the team's work, pubvision audience had plenty of other lished in Sevodnya newspaper this week, show that the list includes a The guests present at the short decree on Chechen reconstruction auguration ceremony were conworth about \$3 billion. Another is a scious that the greatest stain on Mr \$45 million programme to protect Yeltsin's first presidency - the demafia-threatened judges, a key item in Mr Lebed's plans to end crime cision to intervene in Chechenia and the subsequent death of tens of and corruption.

The economics minister, Yevgeny thousands of people - had not Yasin, admitted last week that the The boom of artillery across the government did not have the money Moscow river in a 30-gun salute to to fulfil the president's promises. "All ionour Russia's newly sworn-in instructions of the president will be president was answered a thousandfulfilled. The major issue concerns fold from the charnel house of the term, and when it will be possible Grozny as Russian forces fought the to find these assets," he said. third battle for the Chechen capital

But it is Mr Yeltsin's fragile health rather than his hollow promises that really threatens his hold on power. Few who voted for him believed his cornucopian pledges of peace and roubles by the cubic metre.

"Nobody expected he would pay. Everybody understood they were just election promises. The same with Chechenia. Politics everyprevent him from serving a full fourwhere is a cynical business," said Sergei Markov of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in Moscow.

Comment, page 12

UN fears for Bosnia vote	3
Kemp gives Dole a lift	6
Turkey plays it straight	7
Journey to Mars and back	22
Hostage wives search for truth	25

MoD admits nuclear weapons accident

Soumes Milne

revealed documents exposed

insistence that "there has never been an accident involving about scratches to nuclear dropped it a foot on to the

She was unable to explain why a squadron commander at RAF

May 1959. It was too long ago to

The Government's attempts to explain away documentary evidence of a nuclear weapons. accident is unlikely to satisfy demands for a full account. The denials were dismissed as implausible by the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, which has been the conduit for several leaked documents.

Defence cover-up, page 9 Comment, page 12

The ceremony, broadcast live on Russian television, was intended to lay down a tradition for the demo-

cratic handover of power. Its lastminute scaling down - from an hour-long event on the Kremlin's Cathedral Square to a brief civil cer-Wittering had reported "serious damage to a nuclear weapon" in emony - increased doubts about Mr Yeltsin's strength.

Mr Yeltsin's pre-election theatrical peace-treaty signing ceremony with the separatist leader Zelimkhan Yandarbiyev in the Kremlin, and his lightning visit to Chechenia, where he told Russian troops that the war was over and they had won, have turned out to be bogus.

So, too, says Valentina Melnikova f the Committee for Soldiers' Mothers, was the president's clear undertaking in May that Russian conscripts would no longer be forced to serve in Chechenia. "They're sending conscripts there.

1 Keep quiet! To talk rubbish is out of order (6, 2, 5)

10 Become aware that lies are risky 11 A passion for European travel (7) 12 A girl is caught in wire netting (5)

13 Lib. defies whip! That shows scepticism (9) 14 Acknowledge juvenile's not

Conservative (5)

the pub (4, 2, 3)

16 Lord eats a consonime that's far from clear! (9) 8 Enclosed area stocked with drink is a challenge to those in

trek (5)

20 Greek goddess gets washed. That's hard and dangerous! (9) 23 Direct attention to umpire's hesitation (5)

24 Hermit's ulcer's troublesome. Ambulance finally is here (7) 25 Ergo, a country in Africa's a

country in Africa (7) 26 Small book stolen by one into corruption (6.7)

Down

Agent loses head and hugs celebrity artist (9)

 Detechment and ensign initially get together (5) 4 Make a change and put me in

5 Exaggerate the number of

deliveries to the gallery (9) 6 Writer got up earlier in the afternoon to produce literary

work (5, 4) Artificial intelligence bears out politician was elsewhere at the

8 Regular's career is a stock type (8, 5)
9 Often hear door forced to get

another drink (3, 3, 3, 4) 15 Make the little beast bowl and

throw (9) 16 Exercise is about to stiffen

soldiers' disposition (9) 7 A briefcase is left with a page (9) 1 Toulouse-Lautrec took part in producing what's right (5)

2 Pried Into agreement in Kent (5) 23 Authorisation to wind up the clock (5) Last week's solution

> aive play-off failure. On the second visit Westwood again missed the green but sank the most important putt of his liedgling career from the front

Westwood included Colin Montgomerie, Ian Woosnam Bernhard Langer and John Daly among his victims; the American "surrendering" with a typically flamboyant gesture by throwing his titanium driver into a pond

Golf Volvo Scandinavian Masters

astonishing performance

Westwood, a Masters blaster

Michael Britten in Gothenburg

roadshow to raise the cash. He will

cial theatres.

probably also have to spend more

Christmases doing panto in provin-

More than a dozen England

came when Geoffrey Boycott, sub-

ing no jacket and carrying a boot whose significance the judge never

allowed him to explain.

RE WESTWOOD capped three months of enviable con-sistency on Sunday by seizing his first European Tour victory at the Forsgarden Club. The 23year-old became the Volvo candinavian Masters champior when he holed a putt from 40 feet at the second extra hole.

He defeated Russell Claydon and Paul Broadhurst in the sudden-death play-off after all three English golfers had shot final rounds of 68 to tie on 281, seven under par and one stroke ahead of the Spaniard Santiago

Broadhurst was the first to succumb when the trio returned to the 449-yard 18th. After driving into a bunker and missing from eight feet he could not match his rivals' scrambled

t was his fourth succesedge for a birdie three. Claydon nissed his putt from 25 feet,

made in the Italian Open, when he blocked his drive badly and took six when a par four would have made him the champion But here each of his play-off drives found the middle of the fairway, and his putter did the

HE Ministry of Defence on Monday began to buckle under the pressure of evidence and admitted there bad been accidents involving nuclear weapons at American air bases in Britain. But it dismissed such incidents as "minor"

The MoD claimed formerly secret RAF records of a serious accident involving a "2,000lb nuclear weapon" at Wittering, near Cambridge, had meant to refer to a dummy bomb training accident. It denied that newly

44 years of cover-up.

Despite the admission, the
MoD clung to its longstanding

damage to a nuclear weapon in the UK". A spokeswoman said: "At the most we are talking weapons. Somebody might have ground, which would probably ot even result in a scratch, but it is classified as an accident."

Finland France

Norway NK 16 Portugal E300 Seudi Arabia SR 8.50 Spain P 300 Sweden SK 19 Switzerland SF 3.30 L 3,000

MASCARA SWALLOW
O E X T U S A A
DESULPHUR SAMOS
E S O F E T
MAIL MULTIMEDIA
O E B H B O O
ANGLIA ECLOQUE
E N I A
FLACCID NIGHTS
A L T A T E O
BELLRINGER IMAM
E O O D R A B I
RAVEN OBNOXIOUS
O E I N E L T © Guardian Publications Ltd., 1996. Published by Guardian Publications Ltd., 164 Deansgate, Manchester, M60 2RR, and printed by WCP Commercial Printing, Leek. Second class postage paid at New York, N.Y., and mailing offices. Registered as a newspaper at the Post Office.

Reaching out across Northern Ireland's divide

A RTHUR HUDSON, writing refuses to start the talks with the about last month's Orangemen RA until it resumes its ceasefire and parades in Northern Ireland (August 11), seems to think that centuries of conflict in the region stem from a severe lack of "superior judgment" on the part of the inhabitants, and that when faced with these seemingly unending conflicts, governments are usually helpless and can do nothing but occasionally use force to intervene.

Rather than attack the people of Northern Ireland's "moral behaviour" during the past 300 years, Mr Hudson should consider the role of both the British and Unionist establishments in keeping conflict alive for their own ends. The problems that the people of Northern Ireland are now suffering are the direct result of the use of the divide-andrule strategy employed by the British and loyalist establishment, to keep both Catholic and Protestant workers at each other's throats.

This factic is at work today, meaning the potential for unity in the region to defeat oppression is being sabotaged both by the British govship. The unionists may have shouted about their "right to march", but the Orange Order marches have little to do with cultural identity or their civil liberties. Faced with declining membership (125,000 in the 1960s down to 80,000 today), and the old promises of better jobs and housing being undermined by the current economic situation, the Orange Lodges are just becoming more nasty in their attempts to keep vicious sectarian-

John Major seems intent on doing everything in his power to scuttle the peace process. The Government

The Guardian

I protest out to review promotional offers from selected companies

IRA until it resumes its ceasefire and surrenders its weapons, even though the British army, while it will never be beaten, admits that it can-not win the "war" either. Meanwhile Sinn Fein wina its largest share of the vote and is refused a place at the table. By making impossible de-mands, Mr Major has turned the process into a farce.

"The "achievement of neace" M Hudson refers to does not come through a few enlightened individuals such as Mandela or Gandhi. There is always movement from oclow, from the majority. Gandhi's strategy, if anything, stifled in many ways India's fight for independence. His commitment to pacifist action suited both the British and the risng Indian élites. Any Instance of Inlian peasants and workers (both lindu and Muslim) fighting British rule in more direct ways (refusing o pay taxes, strikes, naval mutinies)

The British finally left in 1947 Gundhi's non-violent, "man-of-conscience" role ensured that the Indian ruling class were in place to take over the reins from the British. For the majority of the Indian population, poverty and communal violence are still present in their

The working class, not "great men", create and move history along. What is needed in Northern Ireland is unity across the two communities: they will realise that they have more in common with one another than with the establishments in either London or Dublin, or with Orange Lodges trying to keep them apart with bigotry.

Real gold at the Games

THE UNITED STATES won the / most Olympic medals with 101. But if, for each country that won medals, you divide its population by. its medal count, the winner is Conga, with one per 0.1 million, followed by the Bahamas and Jamaica. Cheers to Tonga, but such statistics mean little in the case of very small countries (eg, Sri Lanka's lack of medals doesn't signify absolute thletic nullity).

If you look to larger countries, it's Australia (one per 0.413 million) and Cuba (one per 0.417 million) is virtual dead heat. The US comes 36th, at one per 2.45 million, just behind its former Olympic nemesis, Russia. But I give the Olympics to Cuba, on the grounds that it got one medal for each \$1.08 billion of GNP. outdistancing Australia by a factor of four (on that score, the US was 48th, fourth from last amongst countries winning medals). (Dr) Gary Kemp.

University of Waikato.

COLLOWING the rampant nationalism and drug scandals of the recent Olympic Games, I would like o propose that both problems be resolved by banning national teams and replacing them with teams ponsored by drug companies. This would have the dual advantage of giving all competitors equal access to performance-enhancing chemicals trather than the present situation, where only those with criminal connections can benefit), and stopping the unpleasant displays of naional chauvinism that are (I think everyone would agree) not appro-priate to the post-cold war world. Darmstadt, Germany

Morality in a vacuum

IF MORAL relativism were the only alternative to moral absolutism (Comment, July 14), our morals would truly be in trouble. Fortunately, we need not resort to relativism to find a morality that is able to take account of "circumstances, conditions and culture" Non-relativistic traditions of moral thought have always recognised that circumstances are an important factor in making moral judgments.

This is fortunate, since to adopt relativism as an ethical theory is to give up on making moral judgments altogether. Moral relativism takes the descriptive truth that different persons and societies have different moral beliefs, and proceeds, unhampered by logic, to the conclusion that all these beliefs are true in their own way. This leaves us with no criteria for assessing ethical behaviour. We then have no grounds for objecting to female genital mutilation,

child slavery or genocide. There are strong reasons to object to moral absolutism. But to and "fanatical", reeked of prejudice. replace these absolutes with rela-Thick if this in a renowal order . 🗀 tivism is to leave a vacuum at the heart of our moral and social life. This seems an accurate depiction of our current malaise. Morality should not be left to religious persons, Religious and non-religious persons alike must seek substantive values and principles capable of sustaining our common life. These | Department of Sport Studies. ethical norms may be sensitive to | Rochampton Institute, London

circumstances without being relativistic. To advocate moral relativism is to abandon the search for that renewed moral and social vision that we so urgently need. David Clough,

Department of Religious Studies, New Haven, Connecticut, USA

Proprietorial about rights

N THE 1783 Treaty of Paris, the fledgling United States committed itself to "earnestly recommend to the legislatures of the respective states o provide for the restoration of all estates, rights and properties which have been confiscated, belonging to real British subjects . . ." I believe nothing was ever done on those lines. at a state or federal level (nor, to the pest of my knowledge, was a real British subject ever defined).

Now that the US has seen the light and will no longer tolerate revoutionary governments expropriat ing property without compensation can we assume that the next order o business for Mesara Helms and Burton will be to repair the omission? Brian A Jones, Trooklyn, New York

DE THE appropriation in 1959 of US property in Cuba, has everyone forgotten Guantanamo Bay? Monica D White, Portland, Oregon, USA

It's not just

JET AGAIN we see how out of touch with real life our legal system is, that 13 days of court time could be wasted on a squabble be-tween three middle-aged children, when more pressing matters hang fire for lack of court time (Libel jury stumps Botham and Lamb, August 11). The legal profession does itself no good by pretending that all civil suits are of equal importance when it is obvious that scarce resources are being sidelined to deal with anachronistic and outmoded trivia. John Leach, London

T IS not only the vexed question of ball-tampering but the broader and more troubling issue of racism in cricket that has been left unresolved by the recent libel trial.

The two issues are related, mran's argument, confirmed by Geoff Boycott and Mike Atherton in court, has been that so-called balltampering was commonplace in cricket and that therefore it was invidious to single out the Pakistanis as offenders. Behind this double standard, lmran auggested, racism. Headlines such as "Pak Off The Cheats" (The Sun) and "Nailed: Paki Cheats" (The Mirror), and articles in the cricket press that repeat-

The video evidence which Matthew Engel claims "clearly showed [Botham] manipulating; quite legally, a ball that had gone out of shape" was no more or less conclusive than the video evidence that was used to condemn an entire team as "cheata", ··· Mike Marqusee,

Briefly

OUR LEADER (Taking th I tigers by their tails, August 11) brings into sharp focus the issues of corruption, poverty, rich-poor gap, drugs and crime that plague the states of Asia. But the people of these countries are also concerned with the denial of their civil and political rights by regimes that depend for their existence on the support of the US or other Western countries.

The subatance of democracy lies in the rule of law, the protection of fundamental rights, an independent judiciary, a free press, the right to political dissent and the principle of rule by reference to the will of the people. There is no either/or relationship between socio-economic issues and political rights and processes. Both deserve concern. The real Asian miracle will come when both challenges are squarely and simultaneously met (Prof) Khurshid Ahmad. Chairman, Senate Standing Committee on Finance, Senate of

IN RESPONSE to Professor John Rex's appeal for aid for the "new" South Africa (July 28), it is always interesting when leftwing intellectuto formal education, the very means by which the ruling classes in Western societies have seduced potential leaders of the poor and disadvantaged into serving the status quo.

Pakistan, Islamabad, Pakistan

Precisely this seems to be hap pening in South Africa, where black professionals are on the increase but where little has been done to redistribute wealth and thereby improve the lot of the majority of citizens. More equitable access to educational institutions is unlikely to change this so long as that country remains entrenched in its capi-

Aberystwyth, Dyfed

VITH reference to "What an ideal" (Comment, August 4). it is on record somewhere in the theatre world that the exclamation mark of the title Oklahomal of the Rodgers and Hammerstein musical that opened in New York in 1943 was certainly worth a million dollars or more, as anyone would agree. Penny Geldart. Aylmer, Quebec. Canada

A S EUROSTAR whisked us out of the Channel Tunnel Londonbound, a young boy (who had been deep in thought up until this point) stood on his seat, stared longingly out of the large gleaming window, and screamed excitedly: "Papa, papa! Maintenant on va voir les vaches folles!" The boy's father hushed his son, and looked around

rather sheepishly.
(Dr) Noah Jamie Robinson. Saint-Maurice, France

The Guardian

August 18, 1996 Vol 155 No 7

Copyright © 1998 by Quardien Publications Ltd., 119 Farringdon Road, London. United Kingdom, All rights reserved Annual subscription rates are £47 (United Kingdom); £52 (Europe Inc. Eire); £55 USA and Canada; 260 Real of World. Letters to the Editor and other editorial correspondence to: The Guardian Wes 75 Ferringdon Road, London EC1M 3HQ. Fax: 44-171-242-0986 (UK: 0171-242 0986) e-mail: weekly@guardian.co.uk.

UN alarm at Bosnia voter intimidation

Julian Borger in Split

HE United Nations special human rights investigator for former Yugoslavia added her voice at the weekend to a gathering chorus of complaints about intimidation during voter registration for next month's Bosnian elections.

Amid growing evidence that the process is being used to reinforce a three-way partition of the country, Elisabeth Rehn said: "We have a strong feeling from the complaints we have got that there has been harassment around this registration.

Human rights groups and the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) which will oversee the elections on September 14 - have already expressed concern that the registration process is being rigged. Serb leaders have been singled

out for using it to pursue strategic aims of ethnic segregation, but there are increasing signs that Croat authorities are also attempting to manipulate the vote to split Bosnia's already fractured Muslim-Croat federation.

Serb, Crost and Muslim communities are expected to back nationalist politicians. Where they cast their votes will largely dictate Bosnia's

On several occasions in recent weeks, the OSCE has accused Bosnian Serb authorities and the Yugoslav government of pressing Serb refugees to register in their new constituencies rather than their pre-war homes. Thus they will vote in Republika Srpska — the Serb-run entity within Bosnia — and help reinforce its ethnic purity.

Most Muslim refugees, in con-trast, have asked for absentee ballots so they can cast their votes in their pre-war constituencies, which are now in Republika Srpska. This is in line with the Bosnia's policy of | recognition pact later this month.

maintaining Bosnia-Herzegovina as a unified, multi-ethnic state.

The OSCE says it is too early to say whether Sarajevo authorities are using pressure to achieve that goal.

Meanwhile the European Union

scored a hard-fought diplomatic vic-tory in Mostar last week when Muslim and Croat local leaders agreed to run the town in southern Bosnis together in a multi-ethnic council. The deal - reached after four days of intensive negotiations - will almost certainly avert a humiliating withdrawal from the town by a European administration which took on Mostar's reunification as a special project two years ago.

The EU special envoy, Sir Martin Garrod, said he expected the EU presidency to halt withdrawal preparations already under way and to apmission, "with the aim of assisting and stabilising" the new joint council. The deal ends a month-long boy-

cott of the new council by Bosnian Croats after they lost local elections But the Mostar crisis has pro-

duced some troubling pointers. A British official in the town said that the refusal by Croat hardliners to accept an election result in a town of 60,000 people had embroiled diplomats and political leaders across the world, "In September, multiply that by a hundred," the official said.

The agreement is unlikely to have an immediate impact on life in Mostar. A group of Croat men out-side the EU headquarters in Mostar last week vowed no Muslim men would ever step into western Mostar.

In yet another major development former Yugoslavia moved closer to a post-war settlement last week when the two key strongmen, Presidents Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia and Franjo Tudiman of Croatia, signalled their intention to conclude a mutual

An American engineer repairs a road damaged during three years of

n an exclusive resort outside Athens, the two leaders agreed a joint statement paving the way for full diplomatic recognition at a further meeting in Belgrade within the next few weeks. The Greek prime minister, Costas

Similis, who organised and hosted

At a hurriedly-organised summit | the summit near Athens with United States and western European backing, described the talks as a big step towards an overall Balkan pence, al though it was not clear whether the two presidents had resolved any of their many differences.

Le Monde, page 13

the government into

Rwanda joins blockade to put squeeze on Burundi

David Harrison in Jaca and Julia Hayley in Madrid

Flash flood brings tragedy to

Spanish Pyrenees campsite

THE REGION of Aragon held three days of mourning last week for the holidaymakers at a Pyrenees campsite who were swept to their deaths by flash floods.

With the death toll standing at 83 so far, the debate was concentrating on how the disaster at Las Nieves

could have been prevented.

The meteorological office had warned of heavy storms due in the area. A children's summer camp 20km away from Las Nieves had been evacuated as a precaution, it emerged, but Las Nieves and sites nearby were not. Both the meteorological office

and the civil protection department were adamant that this type of storm was highly localised. These storms are difficult to pinpoint week. They were carried down exactly. It could rain very hard steep stone steps to the local ice fly to Bujumbura. 10km away, and where you are noth- rink for identification. ing falls at all," said Juan San Nicolas Santamaria, the civil protection director.

The camp was built 12 years ago in a fold of the Pyrenees beside the Most of the 657 campers reg Gallego river where it is joined by | tered at the site have now been acthe smaller Aras, which runs from the mountains behind the site.

The flow of the Aras is controlled by man-made barriers. Experts | area when the storm hit.

have suggested that trees and rocks washed down by the rain might have built up behind a barrier, creating a temporary dain until the whole structure gave way, unleashing the

flood on campers below. "The campaite had an excellent reputation and no one had ques tioned its set-up," said Santiago Lanzuela, governor of the Aragon

Francisco Ayala, a director of the rechnical and Geo-mining Institute was less sure. He told the Spanish news agency Efe: "A campsite like Las Nieves on the flood plain of a potentially torrential river . . . is the chronicle of a catastrophe foretold."

At Jaca, a Pyrenees resort town near Biescas, 145km east of Pamplona, the bodies of the dead - dug Three bodies were found 1km

from the Las Nieves campsite. At | Burundi's former military least two more were found near the | leader, Pierre Buyoya, again Most of the 657 campers regis-

counted for — though an official said it was difficult to know how many others might have been in the

Chris McGreai in Bujumbura

B URUNDI'S new military-led government has denounced sanctions against the country as a crime against humanity after Rwanda last week joined a regional blockade by closing its borders and cutting air links. After days of vacillating,

Rwanda became the last country in the region to enforce sanctions, plugging the only remain-ing exit route from Burundi by land, water or air. Foreigners and wealthy

Burundians who had scrambled for seats on the last flights out of the country were left stranded when Air France and the Belgia airline, Sabena, cancelled their services because Burundi's neighbours refuse to let them to

sanctions last month after seized power. A regional summit demanded the restoration of constitutional rule and unconditional talks between Burundi's Tutal-dominated establishment and Hutu rebels.

The leader of the Hutu rebels,

Leonard Nyangoma, last week welcomed the sanctions. In a statement he called on people to disobey the new rulers and said he expected sanctions to force

Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania had already halted all air and ground traffic to Burundi and appeared to be rigorously enorcing the blockade. Tanzania was not allowing even individuals to cross its border.

ately that they do not believe Mr Buyoya is in control of his army. They fear the political situation is less certain than might appear in the relatively quiet capital. The US embassy last week advised its citizens to leave the country immediately. The overwhelmingly Tutal

army has stepped up the civil war with a new push to clear Hutu rebels and civilians from areas of central Burundi and create safe havens for Tutsis. The UN children's fund,

Unicef, warned that its work with about two million people would be seriously impaired if . vaccines, drugs and rations for malnourished children were not delivered.

Indonesian police arrest 10 over riots

John Aglionby in Jakarta

HE Indonesian police an-nounced on Monday that they had arrested the leader of the left wing Democratic People's Party (PRD) for masterminding the riots that rocked Jakarta last month. At least nine other activists were also detained in a weekend sweep.

Budiman Sudjatmiko, aged 26 was caught in a Jakarta suburb a the weekend. He had been in hiding since the riots on July 27 and 28.

The army has accused the PRD of spreading hatred of President Subarto and having links with the banned Indonesian Communis Party (PKI),

A military spokesman said documenta seized from Sudjatmiko showed he and the PRD had "clear links" with the PKI.

Sudjatmiko is expected to be charged soon with subversion and inciting people to riot during a freespeech forum at the headquarters of the Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI). The maximum penalty subversion is death.

The rioting crupted when troops stormed the PDI hendonartees while it was occupied by the supporters of the party's ousted leader. Megawati Sukarnoputri. The suhorities believed the gathering had secome too militant and critical of he government.

Three people died in the purest. dozens were injured and more than 250 arrested. Many are still missing Last week President Subarto said that Sudjatmike had "conducted activities which had the characteristies of insurgency", but the authori-

ties have yet to produce any

evidence of such action. The PRD is

an alliance of student and labour or ganisations and has fewer than

1,000 members. Sudjatmiko's mother, Sri Lestari denied her son was a communist or nvolved in undermining the government. She said: "We didn't raise our children to be that way. The reports that he masterminded the riot hurt me. I don't believe them." Bu she admitted that she had not seen much of her son since he dropped out of university several years ago We're going to pray for him and le Allah decide his fate," she said.

Praemodya Ananta Toer, a prize winning writer, and Sukmawat Sukarnoputri, Megawati's sister, were summoned by the police on Monday for questioning in connection with the unrest.

Toer has never been convicted of criminal offence but was in jail for 14 years for alleged links with the PKI. Most of his writings are banned for supposedly containing Marxist teachings. Megawati herself spent nearly

seven hours in Jakarta's police headquarters last week being questioned about events leading up to the riots. Megawati, who was told to report for further questioning week, did not play up her first pubic appearance since the riots, leaving by a side door to avoid journalists and a small crowd of supporters waiting outside. She gave no clue as to the thrust of police inquiries.

Her sister Sukmawati is not known to have any strong political associations.

Analysts believe the unrest was not caused by political subversion but by frustration at economic inequality.

'A window on the wider world' Nelson Mandela, Long Walk To Freedom Subscription rates 6 months Europe (Inc. Elre) USA, Canada Rest of the World To: The Guardan Weekly, 164 Ceansgate, Manchester M80 2RR, England Pleaso mail The Guardian Weekly for 🕒 6 months 🔲 I year to:-Arktress: Subscription ordered by Lew Seer payment of Paris, Style-public orders on UK that to Strong Enractionary payable to "the Guardian Wookly". on 14 Free arderst my Visa Medical infoliation and species and minister. Carchekter's signature Card expiry date Crivili card subscription orders may be sent to fax no. +44 (0) 161 878 8362 ரு என்.ப் பொர்கள் 65. gwauba@guardian.co.uk

The dead man was reported to have taken part in a march organised by Muslim vigilantes who are challenging the gangs in the Coloured suburbs.

Local politicians and police exchanged insults as a row flared over who was to blame for the violence, in which a gang leader was shot and burnt to death and 18 people injured in a shoot-out between vigilantes and alleged drug dealers.

George Fivaz, the national police chief, is investigating allegations that police, who were present at the gunbuttle, failed to intervene to save the murdered man.

Rashaad Staggie, who can the Hard Living gang with his twin brother Rashid, died in front of press cameras when he tried to drive through a heavily armed mob of vigilantes marching on his house. He survived an initial shot to the head at point-blank range, but was

US agrees

Mark Tran in New York

'oil for food'

plan for Iraq

HE United States this week fi-

nally accepted a United Nations

plan allowing Iraq to sell oil to buy

ood, medicine and other human-

itarian supplies to ease the burden

Madeleine Albright, US represen-

lative at the UN, removed the last

obstacle to the oil-for-food plan

when she announced approval of

strict procedures to prevent Saddam Hussein from getting hold of the

The UN oil plan will mark Irag's

return to the oil market for the first

time in six years. Iraqi oil is ex-

pected to flow again in September.

The UN may take four or five weeks

physically to put in place a compre nensive monitoring regime. Under a memorandum of under-

standing signed in May and subse-

quently modified at US and British

insistence, Iraq agreed to a highly

intrusive UN presence. Monitors

will be allowed to room anywhere in

the country, checking markets and

clinics, to make sure that emer-

gency supplies are reaching the

of each \$1 billion in oil sales will be

spent on aid to the Kurds in north-

ern Iraq, now effectively an au-

tonomous region under Western

As part of the plan, \$150 million

needliest people.

flee, and was then riddled with bullets as he died in a gutter.

The killing has been followed by threats of revenge and counterrevenge. Rashid Staggie declared at his brother's funeral that there would be war. In return, the vigilantes - who have declared a jihad against gangs — have threatened to use sulcide bombers if Muslim religious leaders or mosques are attacked.

Dullah Omar, the justice minister, and Leon Wessels, the provincial police chief, later held a crisis meeting with local civic and religious leaders. Politicians blamed the violence on the tartliness of the judicial authorities in dealing with he gangs that flourish in Coloured

Frank Kahn, the Cape's attorney general, dismissed the criticism as 'cheap political opportunism", but conceiled that police and government departments had failed the

It is believed that members of a Shi'ite extremist group, Qibla, may have been among the vigilantes who style themselves the "People Against Gangsterism and Drugs" (Pagad).

But Farouk Jaffer, Pagad's "chief co-ordinator", said that the organiset ablaze with petrol as he tried to sation was not a "militant fundamenting them to stop their activities,

RI LANKAN Tamils, who once

Saw President Chandrika Ku-

maratunga almost as a saviour, fear

that she is falling back on a military

Tamil Tiger guerrillas have gov-

solution to end the 13-year civil war.

crnment forces tied down just out-

side the town of Kilinochchi, the last

population centre under rebel con-

trol. It seems clear that both sides

are suffering heavy casualties in the

army's slow advance on the north-

that it lost 16 soldiers on one day

last week, while killing 60 guerril-

las. The rebel Voice of the Tigers

radio said 200 soldiers had been

killed since the battle for

The scale of civilian suffering is

Kilinochchi began last month.

The defence ministry claimed

Suzanne Goldenberg



A vigilante group member aims a revolver during the violence that crupted during a march in Cape Town at the weekend PHOTO: SABA KRALL

angrily objected to the characterisation of its members as vigilantes. "It is, in fact, comprised of sincere, lawbiding people who are opposed to the high level of drug trafficking in

Mr Jaffer said the organisation had issued an ultimatum to Mr Omar in May to take action against drug lords within 60 days. When the ultimatum expired last month, they delivered ultimatums to 16 gang leaders, warn-

also bound to be high. The Interna-tional Committee for the Red Cross

said it fears that 100,000 people have

fled Kilinochehi and are living out in

the open. With food and medical

shipments to the north blocked for

a month, fears are growing for their

welfare, Gerard Peytrignet of the

The capture of Kilinochchi is vital

f there is to be a land link between

the northern Jafína peninsula,

seized from the Tigers last Decem-

ber, and the government-controlled

The confrontation follows the

Tigers' attack on the Sri Lankan

army last month, when the rebels

overran the military camp at Mul-

laitivu and killed more than 1,100

Mrs Kumaratunga came to power

two years ago as the only Sinhalese

CRC said.

African National Congress.

tallst or extremist organisation". He | • A furious row within South Africa's government about "cash for favours" intensified at the weekend when the president, Nelson Mandela, admitted that the country's casino king, Sol Kerzner, facing bribery charges, had donated R2 million (\$447,000) to the ruling

minority for self-government.

But Tamil leaders say her plan

lacks support even among members

of her ruling People's Alliance - let

alone the opposition United Na-

tional Party. They also fear that she

s now leaning towards a military

solution to a war that is projected to

cost 50 billion rupees (\$930 million)

An all-party parliamentary com-

this year alone.

Tamils despair as peace plan sidelined

BDULRAHMAN Molamed tion in 1964 and a significant

mittee has been mulling over the constitutional reform package since HE politician U Hia Than January. Tamil politicians fear that has died in a Burmese when it resurfaces, it will be signifiprison, aged 52. He was a mem cantly diluted. That would discredit ber of the Aung San Suu Kyl's their own claims to serve the inter-National League for Democracy, ests of their people better than the and had spent six years in Inseln Prison outside Rangoon.

> G ULF war bombing of Iraqi chemical weapons plants sent clouds of low-level nerve gas towards allied positions in Saudi Arabia, US investigators

RENCH riot police were accused of "stupid and 300-strong force staged a dawn church 10 immigrants on hunger strike to fight expulsion. only for the demonstrators, backed by more protesters, to

NDIA said it would not bow to nothing to do with peace.

Visiting Cairo and Amman, Mr
Netanyahu persuaded the Egyptian president, Hosni Mubarak, and Jor
Netanyahu persuaded the Egyptian president, Hosni Mubarak, and Jor
Netanyahu persuaded the Egyptian Hussein during the 1991 Gulf war.

International pressure to move its threat to block a glate that he has been forgiven, publicly at least, for slding with Saddam the government had the sure of its 900 million citizens. International pressure to remove its threat to block a global nuclear test ban treaty, saying the government had the support

South African society."

But Mr Mandela denied any attempt had been made to interfere in a criminal prosecution against Mr Kerzner in exchange for the

natural gas deal with Iran, insisting that the agreement did not violate the new US sanctions peace. Her peace plan, which would against the Iranian government. devolve powers to regional councils. The sales will earn Iran an estiwas the boldest attempt yet to satmated \$1 billion a year. isfy the demands of the Tamil

Turkey's pragmatism, page 7 iran fights back, page 18

A BDULRAHMAN Molamed Babu, a key player in the run-up to the Zanzibar revolufigure in the Pan-African movement of the fifties, has died in ondon at the age of 71.

return later in the day.

The Week

A FLORIDA jury awarded damages totalling \$750,000 to a former amoker, Grady Carter, aged 66, who lost part of his lung to cancer in 1991. The award was made against a US subsidiary of BAT, the British tobacco giant. Nearly \$1.5 bil-lion was wiped off its share value

Washington Post, page 15

RASH investigators have all but ruled out the possibility that a bomb in the forward cargo hold of TWA Flight 800 caused the explosion that brought down the Boeing 747 last month, killing all 230 on board.

PANEL of US scientists believe they have found "evidence of past life on Mars" based on 2½ years of research on a meteorite found in 1984 in Antarctica, which they believe was catapulted off Mars 16 mil-

Return ticket, page 22

EXICAN authorities have Captured a suspected drug lord, Pedro Lupercio Serratos, known as the chief of the Jalisco drug cartel, with his brother and two other men, the attorney-

URKEY signed a \$20 billion

Finns give blacks icy reception

AMES was not looking for trouble. Sitting at the night-club bar, he saw the white guys attack the two Somalis and watched, horrified, as the bouncers joined in with kicks and punches. Then they turned on him - "Hey, nigger" — and he was out on the pavement with the Somalis. Badly bruised, he was off work for two

daughter down the street one afternoon last summer. Four or five men appeared out of nowhere saying nigger this, sambo that, you're taking our money, you're stealing our women. Then one of the men pulled his little girl out of the pushchair by

Aisha has had white girls spit it her face; Rachid cannot remember how often he's been hit; Redouan was put in hospital by two akinheads, and then lost the court case. Paula, a white girl married to a black man, remembers the middleaged woman who helped lift her pram into the bus, then dropped it and swore when she saw the baby's

Emerging from 800 years of foreign occupation and half a century of cold war isolation, whiter-thanwhite Finland, a European Union newcomer, is not finding it easy to velcome foreigners, particularly those whose skin colour is different from the Swedes, Russians and Estonians who make up the major-

lty of its 69,000 immigrants. "It's terrible," said James, aged 36, a dance teacher from London. "I

shout at you from cars, they assume you're a refugee. When they're drunk, they're unbelievable."

Dans, a tall 21-stone bodybuilder and former Chicago policeman, said he is "paranoid as hell". He lives in a nest Helsinki flat with his Finnish wife, Minna, and baby son. "I'm big, but when they're drunk I'm their worst nightmare come true. They have to fight or they're not Finnish

Finland has experienced little of the organised racial violence that has made headlines in Sweden and Germany. But, said Dana, black people face a climate of mistrust and ignorance.

"People just stare, all the time, then look away when you catch their eyes," he said. "And their comments! That's what finally gets you. I had a friend who was at the zoo with his family. A little Finnish kid came up and licked his hand - like to see what it was made of."

There are about 12,000 black immigrants in Finland out of a total oppulation of 5.1 million, said Helge Valama, head of the recently estab-Ished European Union Migrants Forum in Helsinki. "Blacks have the hardest time."

ne said. "The country was effecively closed after the war, it was a very hard life here, and the Finns are worried for their jobs, their women — you name it."

Mr Valama, a leading member of Finland's 10,000-strong Romany community, believes the government is complacent and contributes to the problem. "There is structural

thought these attitudes had died 30 racism in Finland, it runs right years ago. They stare at you, they through the bureaucracy," he said. "Romanies have been here for 500 years, and our own candidate is still not allowed to head the committee for Romany affairs."

Nearly every black immigrant has a story of bureaucratic injustice. lousseine, a Moroccan interpreter at a refugee centre in the city of Campere, said he knows of only one black person who has won a disrimination or abuse case. "Some policemen say quit

openly: 'Fight back when you're attacked, but don't hang around till we arrive, because the law isn't on your side," he said. "The visa people hold your passport for six months while they decide if you can stay, even if you have a Finnish wife. If you want to travel, sure, you can have your passport, but then the whole entry process starts over

Ole Norrback, the European affairs minister and one of the few oliticians to argue for higher immi rration, admits there are difficulies. "I don't think Finland is racist. but Finns are cautious about foreigners, for good historical reasons. It's important for Finland that we have more foreigners, and we have no choice now we're in the Eurolead the way and some are still

But bureaucracy is not all that needs to change. The Golden ABC, a popular children's reader now in its 12th edition, shapes Finnish attitudes young. "The Negro washes his face," it teaches toddlers, "but it

Errors delayed warning to police of Atlanta bomb

INTERNATIONAL NEWS 5

lan Katz in Atlanta

WARNING that a bomb was A WARNING that a bomb was about to explode in Atlanta's Centennial Park failed to reach uthorities at the scene because an emergency operator did not know the park's address and telephone lines to the police con troi centre were engaged, it has

Last month's bombing killed ne woman and injured more han 100. A Turkish cameraman who died of a heart attack as he rushed to the scene is also being treated as a homicide.

Authorities at the park began clearing the area after they were alerted by Richard Jewell, the security guard who later became the prime suspect. But critics nave suggested that there might nave been fewer injuries if they had been warned earlier.

The man, who called at 12.58am on July 27, said only: There is a bomb in Centennial Park. You have 30 minutes." Atlanta's police chiefs say the call was handled in accordance with a protocol designed to deal with bomb warnings.

However, a recently released police transcript reveals an almost farcical sequence of events that delayed transmission by at least 10 minutes. Included is the following exchange between the operator and a police dispatcher: Operator: "You know the

ddress of Centennial Park?"

Dispatcher: "Girl, don't ask me to lie to you.

Operator: "I tried to call ACC the Atlanta police department's command centre], but ain't nobody answering the phone . . . But I just got this man talking about there's a bomb set to go off in 30 minutes in Centennia

Dispatcher: "Oh Lord, child. One minute, one minute . . . Uh, okay, wait a minute. You put it n, and it won't go in?"

Operator: "No, unless I'm spelling Centennial wrong. How are we spelling Centennial?'

On her second attempt to call the police command centre, the line was bad and she was told to call again. When she did get through, an unidentified official told her he did not have the park's address, adding: "What "all think I am."

The operator eventually btained the address from an office at Centennial Park itself and transmitted the report of th warning call at 1:08:35. However, it was 1:11:10 before r police unit was contacted.

Nine minutes later, a police officer radioed: "Be advised that something just blew up at Olympic Park."

Embarrassment has also mounted as FBI agents have failed to find conclusive evidence against Mr Jewell, The bureau is under pressure to explain why he was named as a leading suspect.

4

Make the most of your UK **Property Letting**

It's surprising how many people see their UK property income decimated by the taxman.

Unfortunately, it's all too easy to fall into one or more of the many "tax-traps" - and suffer payment delays and reduced rental receipts as a result.

The costly tax-traps include -

- Registering the property in the wrong name
- Failing to claim all allowances and reliefs
- Delaying appeals against assessments
- Losing the benefit of Mortgage Interest Relief at Source
- Incurring unnecessary Capital Gains Tax



Head Office: Crescent House, Crescent Road, Worthing, Sussex, BN11 1RN, England. Tel: Worthing (01903) 231545 Telex: 87614. Fax: (01903) 200868. Offices in Exeter

The Fry Group regularly writes on tax matters The Fry Group for leading expatriate publications.

Wasting the benefits of independent taxation

Falling foul of the complicated residence rules which determine UK tax status

The Fry Croup, established in 1898, has already helped over 200,000 people to minimise their tax liabilities - and we are the market leader in advising expatriate landlords how to avoid the "tax-traps".

For a copy of our special leaflet and a free initial review to identify how we can help you, please return the coupon below.

Wilfred T. Fry Ltd, C	rescent House,	Crescent Road,
thing, Sussex BN11 l	RN, England.	-31

Please send me a copy of your special leaflet for expatriate landlords and details of your advisory service.

TACTITI	-
-	1
Add	roge

To:

Date of intended return to UK

GW 17/8/96

Ms Albright emphasised that while "the important point here is to try to get humanitarian assistance: to the people within Iraq", the sanctions against the government would remain intact.

Washington Post, page 15

Derek Brown in Jerusalem

WITH the Middle East peace process on hold and tentative new alliances forming on the frontiers of beleaguered Iraq, summer has been a season of hectic diplo-

Already this month no less than nine high-level missions have crisscrossed the skies as governments jostle for advantage amid quick-fire political developments.

Three main factors have obliged the leading players to increase the pace: the election of a rightwing Israeli government in May; rising concern about the stability of Iraq; and mounting resentment of the United States' latest heavy-handed

stance towards fran. On the face of it, the restoration of Likud to power in Israel has done most to galvanise Arab diplomacy. But after an initial show of summit

level solidarity in Cairo in June, there has been little enthusiasm for a united approach. The new Israeli prime minister, Arab leaders with his hardline statements during and after the election, rejecting a Palestinian state and supporting renewed Jewish settle-

ment of the occupied territories. But more recently he has moved quickly to smooth ruffled feathers. Syria, however, has rejected an offer by Mr Netanyahu to resume

peace talks, saying his proposal had

Diplomacy fills Arab skies | dan's King Hussein that Israel r mains committed to peace.

rejected the plan outright.

The president of the Palestinian National Authority, Yasser Arafat, was also seeking support in Egypt and Jordan last week

President Hafez al-Assad of Syria has been assiduously promoting his country's demand for unconditional iyanin Netanyahu, outraged Heights with help from Egypt, which sees itself as the main peace raid to remove from a Paris broker in the region.

Mr Assad has also had a rare signal of support from Jordan. King Hussein recently flew to Damascus and praised Mr Assad for his commitment to peace and implicitly offered to help mediate.

The king has been in Saudi Arabia this week. He was greeted at the



The US this week

Martin Walker

AN DIEGO: The Republicans Sare fielding the odd couple this year. Robert Dole's selection of Jack Kemp as his running mate was a very real surprise because the two men have been political enemies for nearly 20 years. And it will take rather more effrontery than Dole has shown so far to explain why he has picked to replace him — in the strong possibility that at 73 he does not survive a full term of office — a man he once suggested had too often played football without a helmet.

Describing himself as "a bleeding wart conservative". Kemp would be a marvellous orator if he could only stop talking. He has a relentlessly sunny disposition and an endearingly puppy-like way of bounding with energy. His very presence i calculated to exhaust the morosi and lethargic Dole. It will also take effrontery by

Kemp to campaign on a Republican platform when he is known to disagree, violently, with almost half of it. Violence is something with which Kemp is identified. I am told by one who was in the Oval Office at the time that Kemp once jumped over the furniture, in the presence of President Bush, to get to grips with the then secretary of state. James

There had been an angry argument over Soviet behaviour in the Baltic states, and Baker, impatient at Kemp's amateurish moralising, invited him to perform an anatomical impossibility upon himself. Kemp, still athletic in late middle age after his brilliant career as a professional quarterback with the Buffalo Bills, leapt over a chair or two. Baker beat a hasty retreat. Kemp chased him down the corridor towards the Roosevelt Room, and was about to embrace him warmly by the throat when the two men were separated by the diminutive Brent Scoweroft. the national security adviser.

The Dole-Kemp strategy sessions also promise to be lively. Kemp despises the anti-immigration measures that Dole supports, from the callons pledge to withdraw public services such as schools and hospitals from the children of illegal inmigrants, to the offensive demand that US citizenship no longer be automatically given to those born on its territory.

Kemp also despises the meanspirited racial attitudes that underpin the Republican manifesto pledge to abolish affirmative action for blacks and other minorities. In lessons learnt from his footballing days, Kemp is one of the few Republicans visibly at ease with racial

matters, and has said his Republicans "will not be complete" until the party becomes as natural a political home for black voters as the Demo-

Kemp, a passionate free marketeer who believes in restoring the gold standard, is openly contemptuous of the Pat Buchanan-inspired plank in the new Republican platform that condemns the World Trade Organisation. This is the nternational arbitration and judicial body that resolves trade disputes under the Gatt treaty, and it is one of the issues that Buchanan made his own. Indeed, the Republican platform looks uncannily like the Buchanan manifesto.

"This is very Buchanan," boasted Bay Buchanan, whose brother gave Dole an early whipping in this year's primaries. She crowed that the party platform and the convention delegates are further to the right than she and her brother "ever dreamed" possible. The result is that save for tax cuts and opposition to abortion. there probably is not too much in the Republican manifesto that Kemp can honestly support.

"Sometimes I don't know where I fit in the Republican party," Kemp confessed earlier this year, as he announced that he was endorsing Dole's rival for the Republican nomination, the millionaire publisher Steve Forbes. Honour required no less. Forbes and Kemp have been brothers in arms in a group called Empower America, dedicated to winning the Republican party back to the low-tax and fast-growth ecanomic nostrums that nearly bankrupted the country in the Reagan

As the aide to then-Governor Reagan of California in the 1960s, Kemp had converted his boss to the new supply-side theories. Now he is claiming to have converted Dole, too, and certainly Dole's tax-cutting promises ring less hollow with Kemp there to back them up.

The Republicans want to believe that Dole means it. Suddenly blossoming on to the lapels of every Republican delegate to the San Diego convention, the little blue sticker that says "15%" is supposed to be the miraculous additive that

will power the Dole campaign. As electoral bribes go, it is generous enough. Fifteen per cent off everybody's taxes sounds fair, and the Republican television ads are ramming home the basic message that a family of four on average earnings will be \$1,500 better off next year. The Republicans are being more reticent about the fact that a family of four on three times average earnings will save \$10,700, and even quieter about the halving

of capital gains taxes. The Democrats find the Dole tax pledge to be a target-rich environment, and have already begun their counter-ad barrage. The first shot shows film of Dole in 1980, 1982 1984 and 1988 denouncing the and Rich DeVos of the AmVay 'voodoo economies" of tax cuts that simply balloon the deficit. The real hole in the Dole tax plan is what it does to the public services that voters tell polisters they want to keep. The Dole plan promises \$548 billion

faster growth.

attorney-general. in tax cuts over the next six years, of which \$147 billion will be defrayed - he assumes - by the higher tax | tion activist who runs the Eagle receipts that should come with



Winning ticket? Presidential candidate Bob Dole introduces his running mate, Jack Kemp, t supporters in Kansas over the weekend

So he has still to find close to | of whom we last heard when Pat | if the property is ecologically fragile \$400 billion in spending cuts. And this is on top of the \$390 billion in cuts that have already been agreed by Congress for the next six years. Dole says he will not touch defence, Medicare, social security or interest on the national debt. That leaves him less than a third of the federal budget to attack, and it will mean the virtual cradication of the departments of commerce, energy, education, housing, transport and

It will be, as Dole boasted last week of his promise to close the Internal Revenue Service, the end of government as we know it. And that was the mistake the Congressional Republicans under Newt Gingrich made last year, when they allowed Bill Clinton to stand firm as the defender of public spending on programmes the voters decided they

The fact is that the Republican party is now a lot further to the right than most Americans. This is quite deliberate: witness the gathering that took place over the weekend on plush Coronado island, which dominates San Diego bay. Most of the private events that matter to the Republican party took place there, away from the hurly-burly and elevision cameras of the convention itself

The most important meeting was closed to all but members, and the membership list is secret. The ewsletter through which the group sticks together deliberately maintain the conspiratorial flavour, with "For Your Eyes Only" stamped on the title page. You will not find the Council for National Policy (CNP) listed in any telephone book, and there is no discreet brass plate bearing its name on any exclusive townhouse or office building. It is only 15 years old. You do not apply to join, you can only he invited. Mem-bership is reported to be around

The CNP is the high command of JS conservatism, an élite operation devoted to keeping the Reagan coalition in being. It was founded in 1981 by the small group of Californians and western multi-millionaires who made up Reagan's kitchen cabinet. The Coors brewing family direct-sales giant still provide the financial backbone. The current president is Ed Meese, Reagan's

The executive board includes the Reverend Pat Robertson, founder of the Christian Coalition, and Phyllis Schlafly, the anti-gay and anti-abor-Forum. It also includes Larry Pratt, Buchanan was embarrassed by the organisation's attendance at a neo-Nazi rally with the Aryan Nation.

These folk stick together. They do not trust the mainstream media to cover the convention in the right way. Indeed, one of the members is Reed Irvine, who runs Accuracy in Media, which tries to document his claims of liberal bias and buys fullpage ads in the mainstream press to publicise the wilder allegations around the Clinton's Whitewater

Rather than leave the convention the hands of the closet socialists who run CBS, NBC and CNN, the Council decided to offer its own coverage. DeVos gave his CNP chum Robertson \$1.3 million to underwrite a special telecast of the convention on Robertson's Family Channel. If that contains too much religion, good conservatives can switch to National Empowerment TV on cable, founded by another CNP stalwart, Richard Viguerie, who made his first fortune through

The fact is that the Republican party is a lot further to the right than most Americans

direct-mail fund-raising for conser-

The CNP's brand of conservatism is striking in its casual approach to economic policy. Karl Marx could hardly believe that an organisation so deeply ideological could be quite so agnostic about something as fundamental as free trade. The CNP quite happily embraces the Buchanan argument that free trade is too damn good for foreigners and too challenging for unprotected US workers. But the CNP newsletters have supported the North American Free Trade Agreement and other landmarks of the new free-trading

The CNP cares far more about politics in the traditional sense. It distrusts Washington and loathes big government and taxes, and instinctively opposes any attempt to suggest that there may be a public right to interfere with private property, But it is quite prepared to use the power of the law and govern-

ment to control private behaviour. It insists that the government should never have the right to stop anyone developing his or her who heads Gun-Owners of America, property as he or she wishes, even Comment, page 12

wetlands. But the government must have the power to imprison any doctor who dares carry out an aborion. A government that cannot be trusted to educate children should however, be trusted to censor

It is a deeply confused conservatism. Its heritage runs back through Reagan to the first conservative standard-bearer in the postwar period, the Arizona senator Barry Goldwater. His pledge, that "I'd rather be right than be presi dent", is still the battle cry of a conservatism that prefers rightconsness to power. And yet Goldwater is these days shunned by the CNP be cause he abides by the old libertar ian traditions of the US right.

"Always have been gays in the military, and always will be. Hell, I don't care if they are straight, so long as they shoot straight," Goldwater declared three years ago, when he came to the rescue of President Clinton's controversial policy. This month, Goldwater decided to endorse Clinton.

Confused, sectarian and narrowninded as it is, the CNP is the group with the wealth and the media outlets. And in the Christian Coalition it has the nationwide organisation to dominate the Republican party.

"We are not big enough as a novement for the Republican party to win with us alone," the Christian Coalition's director, Ralph Reed, explained in San Diego last week, "But we are big enough so that they cannot win without us."

Through the CNP, the Christian Coalition has just the allies it needs the broader and more secular reaches of conservatism. But it is now an open question whether the traditional Republican coalition can survive this intolerant new power of the CNP. It is not only liberal Republicans who support abortion who fear being driven out, but also gay Republicans, those who support gun control, those who question the need for prayer in schools, and those who think Republicans should protect the environment.

In asserting their dominance over the Christian Coalition are forget ting the key to the success of their hero, Ronald Reagan. Political parties win by widening their coalitions to bring people in, not by keeping them out of an élite and secretive island conclave. Still, the garrulous and attractive Jack Kemp may give the appearance of inclusion for a while. This election may at last be livening up.

GUARDIAN WEEFLY

INTERNATIONAL NEWS 7

Turkey takes a pragmatic line

John Hooper in Ankara | after 1am and restored the traditional Ramadan practice of firing a asks whether the

fundamentalist bark of the new government has proved worse than its bite

■ T HAD just turned midnight. Thursday had become Friday -the Muslim holy day. In the Mon Amour club, at least

20 women in skimpy dresses were sitting at a bar festooned with red lights. Across town, in a casino beneath the Hilton hotel, silken-haired croupiers were shuffling cards and spinning wheels as another night's cambling started.

On the Kral pop video channel, a beefcake with designer stubble was getting out of a BMW convertible in pursuit of a mini-skirted girl. A graphic proclaimed that the song was in the Burger King Top 20.

It takes a deep swig of raki to believe this is a city run for the past two years by an Islamist mayor, the capital of a country which for the past two months has been led by an Islamist prime minister. It appears that Necmettin Erbakan and his Refah (Welfare) party are blazing a trail to Islamic pragmatism.

Since coming to power in coali tion with Tansu Ciller's True Path party, Turkey's Islamists have made a remarkable succession of U-turns.

They have agreed to renew the mandate of the United States-led air force which operates out of southern Turkey to protect Iraq's Kurds. In opposition, they had called it an "occupying force".

They have decreed another four months of emergency rule in the southeast, where Turkish security forces are fighting Kurdish guerrillas. In opposition, they had demanded an end to it.

Despite years of anti-Zionist rhe-toric, Refah deputies have voted for an investment protection agreement with Israel. And, having repeatedly criticised the use of arbitrary measures by previous administrations, the new government is using "authorisation laws" that give a decree the force of an act of

Refah's record in national government is consistent with its performance in city halls. In Istanbul. which also has an Islamist adminis tration, Refan councillors have made only timid gestures towards creating a more devout society.

cannon at the end of each day's fasting. They had also planned to repaint kerb markings in Islamic green and white, but quickly abandoned the idea when it was explained that this would violate

international transport agreements.
Foreigners resident in Istanbul say the most obvious change is improved services; the strects are cleaned more thoroughly, the rubbish collected more often.

For many, it is now clear that the bark of Turkey's Islamists was worse than their bite.

"The Refah party is sending out signals that it is no different from other parties," one of Turkey's most respected columnists, Mehmet Ali Birand, wrote last month. "Like other parties, it says one thing in opposition but adopts a different approach in government . . . Personally, I believe that this is highly encouraging for the future,"

What is at stake can scarcely be stressed too much.

Turkey has been a keystone of Western security policy, to an even greater extent that Iran was under he Shah. It has half a million men n the military and is viewed by the US and most of its allies as a bastion against nationalism in Russia, fundamentalism in Iran and potentially troublesome governments in Syria and Iraq. The scope for conflict were Turkey, like Iran, to "go Islamic" would be immense

Yet Western diplomats seem relaxed about Refah's arrival in government. They note that the party has been playing by the rules of Turkish democracy for 13 years. Its avuncular leader has been doing so for even longer. They argue that Refah is not fundamentalist but Islamist, and that, if a comparison is to be made, it should be with western Europe's Christian Democrats.

Despite repeated calls to the party's offices in Istanbul and Ankara, Refah was unable to provide a spokesman to discuss these points. But put them to Nilufer Narli and she purses her lips in incredulity. Dr Narli, an associate professor at Marmara university who has just completed a study of Refah's campus activities for the Ford Foundation, offers a definition of the party membership that would apply to fundamentalists elsewhere.

"An Islamist," she says, "is someone who takes a political position



the two should not be separated," She says Refah is an umbrella group that includes conservatives as well as radicals, but finds the parallel with Christian Democrats unconvincing. "Christian Democrats want regular elections, a multi-party system and a liberal, free-market

Islam is religion and state, and that

conony," she says. Refah has played the democratic game for more than a decade. "But he real question is: are Refah's members ready for an 'historic compromise' with the system, like the one the Italian Communists aspired to, or are they practising tagiya -the concealment of one's true aims for the welfare of Islam?"

She suspects the answer depends on the individual member, "Maybe Erbakan himself wants an historic compromise, but others...

Ersin Kalaycioglu, professor of political science at Bosphorus university, has examined Refah from a different position by studying its voters. He found it was strong among those opposed to the establishment:

poor and the lower middle-class craftsmen threatened by the ad vance of neo-liberal capitalism.

"The real difference between Refah voters and those of other parties was how they approached islanı," he says. "If you read Islamists" newspapers, you'll see what they're telling their voters is: 'You haven't given us enough votes to govern alone. We have to act like this: Their argument is, 'Give us more

Many secular Turks are worried hat their country's allies are being lulled into wishful or muddled thinking by the Islamists' unexpected regard for Western interests, Last nouth, a spokesman for the US state department was quoted in the Turkish press as saying that what mattered to Washington was not whether a society was secular, but whether it was democratic.

"I ask myself: how can you have secularism without democracy? says an Istanbul journalist who asked not to be named. "Is there a single country in the world which is

Inmates are tortured, say jail doctors

Chris Nuttail in Ankara

ΛOSΓ doctors in Turkey who V examine detainees believe nearly everyone who is taken into custody is tortured, according to Physicians for Human Rights.

The group, based in Boston. Massachusetts, said doctors were unwilling accomplices to torture, coerced by police to cover up the physical evidence of abuse.

The results of its two-year investigation into torture in Turkey were published in the Journal of the American Medical Association last week. PHR interviewed physicians and torture victims, carried out a survey among 60 doctors who officially examine detainces and analysed more than 150 official medical reports on prisoners.

PHR said 96 per cent of doctors urveyed believed that torture was a problem in Turkey, while 60 per cent believed that nearly everyone who was detained was tortured. It said this was probably an underestimation, as 76 per cent did not consider beatings alone to amount to torture.

Its interviews with forensic doctors indicated that some had observed evidence of torture in the cases of hundreds, even thousands. of detainces in recent years.

"The Turkish police may respond to physicians' attempts to perform proper examinations of torture survivors with overt threats of physical harm to the physician, by destroying the medical reports, or by simply obtaining a favourable report from a more compliant physician," said Dr Vincent Jacopino, a co-author of the report. "Since physicians are state employees, they are vulnerable to threats that they will lose their posiions if they do not comply."

Torture victims complained of ductors sitting at a distance from them and failing to carry out a physical examination before recording in their reports that they found to evidence of injury.

The PHR report gives numerous accounts of torture from male and female victims, including suspension above the ground, beatings. sexual violations, testicle squeezing. electric shocks and spraying with cold, pressurised water.

In a letter sent with the report last week to the new prime minister. Necmettin Erbakan, PHR said; "We believe that your government has the unique opportunity to face the fact of torture in Turkey and eliminate the practice once and for all."

Mubarak urged to intervene in heresy case

Ben Faulks in Cairo

N Egyptian human rights'
group has urged President
Hosni Mubarak to intervene after the country's highest court upheld a ruling that a university professor must divorce his wife because he was deemed to have renounced Islam.

The decision last week by the Court of Cassation against Nasr Hamed Abu Zeid, aged 54, has sent shockwaves through the secular community, and it is likely to discourage moderate Muslims from entering main stream politics.

"This is a dark day for the

legal aystem and shows the extent of Islamist influence, said Abdel Aziz Mohammed chairman of the Egyptian Organ-isation for Human Rights and a In June 1995, a lower court defence lawyer in the case. ruled that Abu Zeid's writings on Although the ruling cannot be appealed, the defence team said

it would push the court to revise ts decision. The organisation urged Mr Mubarak to intervene immediately, "not only to protect Professor Abu Zeld but to defend

the whole of Egyptian society". Mr Abu Zeid incensed hardline Islamiats when, as a profes-sor in Islamic studies at Cairo university, he said the Koran

should be looked at within its socio-political context, and Islamic teachings should evolve

religion "attacked" and "incited disrespect" for Islam, and ordered his divorce on the grounds that he was an apostate and therefore could not be married to a Muslim. The case was brought under hesba, a princi-ple of Islamic law allowing individuals to bring cases against those they feel have offended Islam.

Mr Abu Zeld, who fled to the Netherlands with his wife,

Ibtihal Younis, after the trouble erupted, contested the decision: The verdict had been widely

expected to be overturned.

Ms Younis said of the lawyers who brought the case: "They are the losers. They have outraged people who were neutral and in-flamed the world against them." The ruling had "no effect" on the couple because they intend to stay together, she said.

The Egyptian government, anxious at the number of such cases being brought to court, had passed legislation that meant hesba cases had to go through the state prosecutor's office. And in what was considered a convenient get-out clause for the Court of Cassation in the Abu Zeid case, the government had barred individuals from bringing cases unless they were directly involved in them.

"The government provided a technical way out, but the court refused to take it," said one human rights worker. The former chief of the state's

high security court, Said al-Ashmawi, said the decision "shows Egyptian justice no longer respects the law but is ruling on the basis of ideological trends".

But Yussef al-Badri, who helped bring the case to court. said: "No one will dare to think about harming Islam again . . . we have stopped an enemy of Islam from mocking our religion."



HE HIGH Court has ruled that the Home Secretary,

himself when he ordered the re-

turn to Hong Kong of 60-year-old

Ewan Launder, a businessman

who fears he could face the death

enalty if forced to stand trial on

£4.5 million bribery and cor-

ruption charge once the colony is

WO men were each given a

an attempted raid on a British

for East Timor.

Aerospace factory in support of

the four women who took ham-

mers to a Hawk aircraft destined

month in prison arising from

aken over by the Chinese.

in Brief

Chequebooks come out for story of 8-baby birth

treatment, medical confidentiality and chequebook journalism were revived by the revelation that a single mother, Mandy Allwood, was pregnant with octuplets and had been given fertility treatment without her boyfrlend's agreement. She had, moreover, sold her story to a Sunday newspaper for an estimated £100,000, and hired a PR man in the hope of raising another £1 million in newspaper and sponsorship payments.

Miss Allwood, who had previously had an abortion after an accident and a miscarriage last year, had been advised by doctors to have some of the eight embryos aborted so as not to risk losing them all and damaging her own health. But she decided to continue with the pregnancy, saying "the more the merrier", Her PR man. Max Clifford, said "market forces" were at work. "If she gives birth to seven or eight, there will be huge world interest. She will need every penny she can get."

The story - manna for the media in the August "silly season" - was also tailor-made for the voluble prolife lobby. Professor Jack Scarisbrick. of the Life organisation, was "delighted by her pro-life response to this challenge. There is no need for the surgeons to get their knives out."

But Dr Winifred Francis, the gynaecologist who delivered Britain's only septuplets, said the chances of a happy ending were slim. The seven Halton babies were delivered 26 weeks early and died within days of each other in 1987.

Medical experts were surprised that Miss Allwood had been given fertility treatment without the knowledge of her boyfriend. Most fertility clinics counsel potential parents as couples, and not individually.

The pro-lifers had enjoyed huge publicity the previous week, when doctors at a London hospital said that they were prepared to carry out an abortion on a woman pregnant with twins who, because of financial hardship, wanted only one of them. Pro-life groups raised more than £80,000 to help her, and went to court to try to stop the abortion, only to learn that the operation had

THE MORAL and ethical arguments about abortion, fertility is returning in the high street and

reach £1 billion.

itself facing a tough battle with the large shooting lobby within its ranks.

vidual shooters would be entitled to full compensation, as would the owners of shooting ranges and gun clubs, and shooting-related businesses, which employ up to 10,000

Insurance fraud, which costs an estimated £170 million a year.

SCHOOL-LEAVERS this week receive their A-level exam results, which determine whether or not they qualify to go on to university. There is evidence that nearly haif of those who qualify now choose to study close to home, and that one in 10 pulls out before accepting a university place.

home. And most of those who decline a university place want to take a "year out" — usually to earn money — or opt to take their chances in the job market, since a degree is no longer a guarantee of

is returning in the high street and the housing market in time to bring them electoral relief.

AS THE guns blazed out on the grouse moors in their annual pacan to the Glorious Twelfth, the Shooters' Rights Association was trying to head off handgun legislation by warning that the cost of compensating gun owners could

The Cullen Inquiry into the

Shooters' Rights claims that indi-

ARD on the heels of the benefits fraud hotline — the "suitchers' line" launched last week by the Social Security Secretary, Peter Lilley - the Government is now planning another hotline for people who want to report dishonest employers. The benefits hotline attracted more than 12,000 calls in less than a week, but hundreds of them were from people reporting cheating employers. Many of the calls were about employers in small businesses, and involved National

Students find it cheaper to live at





killing of 16 children by a licensed gun-owner at Dunblane in Scotland s expected to recommend a ban on the ownership of handguns. In attempting to introduce a ban, however, the Government could find

people, four seriously.

rail crash inquiry.

Railtrack said the investigation would focus on why two trains were travelling on the same line. Initial reports said an empty southbound train was changing tracks south of Watford Junction. Hertfordshire, when it and a crowded 5.04pm from Euston to Milton Keynes collided Emergency services fought to release up to 40 passengers trapped

Experts said the empty train apneared to be correctly crossing to a safe track when the full passenger train struck it. They speculated that the latter either received a faulty signal or passed a warning signal.

hemselves out of the cab when they realised a crash was inevitable.



Safety fears as trains collide

Quardian Reporters

All CRASH experts are trying to discover how two trains collided last week, killing a woman and injuring 69

Investigators have retrieved two aviation-style "black boxes" from the wreckage that could tell them what happened. It is thought to be the first time they have featured in a

Witnesses said the driver and guard of the empty train threw

The accident occurred on the main west coast line between London and Glasgow. Peter Rayner, a former BR man-

nimby reads: "The initial

letters of the alogan 'not in my

back yard', expressing objection

unpleasant, such as a nuclear waste dump, in one's own local-ity." Now "nuclear waste dump"

has been replaced by "opera" in the latest bout of nimbylsm,

to the siting of something

writes Dan Glaister.

open air opera.

The Local Government

Ombudsman ruled last week

Oxfordshire, should receive

that five residents of Garsington

£200 each in compensation for

noise pollution from the nearby

Villagers were divided over the ruling. Some saw it as a victory

for common sense, while others

ager who was in charge of the West Coast Main Line for six years, said:

be carried on to the track but most of the other people were able to "Because the track is owned by Railtrack, the trains are owned by someone else, and the driver employed by someone else, an inquiry is diffi-

wants to protect their own interests. "There is no one railway authority to take its own inquiry and feed that to the Health and Safety Executive. They are all tainted with

cult to conduct because everyone

Sir George Young, the Transport Secretary, expressed "my deepest sympathies for the families of the dead and injured" and praised the rescue services. He pledged that the investigation findings would be

Witnesses smashed into the overhead power lines when the impact forced them off the rails. One injured passenger described how he was thrown across the carriage. Mick, a builder from Milton Keynes, said: "There was a huge bang and a crash as the wheels of another carriage came through the window. People were flying everywhere. When it stopped there was blood pouring down the faces of people near the broken window. Someone smashed the window of the emergency door but the overhead wires were wrapped round the

train and sparking.

attacked it as the product of

Pensioner Michael Hudson,

manor, said: "On one occasion

the organisers actually had the

check to ask me to stop mowing

sound would carry so much that

I'm not against opera but the

we could bear it in our living

room. It's not just the perfor-

mances, the rehearsals can go

on all day and they practise the

same piece over and over again. But company director Clive

Holloway, aged 56, defended the

operas "The noise element has

been exaggerated," he said. "I live very close to the manor and

can rarely hear any noise. A lot

of people think opera is for

'Rich man's opera' pays out for noise

blind class prejudi

As they walked away, he said, they saw a carriage on its side. "We could see about 40 people in it. They could not get out but very soon firemen were there helping them."

The dead woman's body was retrieved four hours after the collision. Police named her as Ruth Holland, aged 54, books editor at the British Medical Journal.

British Transport Police said between 300 and 400 people were ravelling on the train.

Driver error later emerged as the most likely cause of the crash, after investigators spent a day trawling through the wreckage. • Fresh fears about safety on the

privatised rail network surfaced after five track workers removed from the site of a "near accident" at Britain's busiest rail junction were found to have bogus safety docu-The incident took place earlier

this month near Clapham Junction, and was detailed in Railtrack's internal daily incident log, leaked to the Labour party.

Men replacing coping stones
were put at risk when an engineers

train came on to the section of the line on which they were working-The driver was able to stop despite

mobs and that is why they are

for seven years. In 1994 the

owner, Leonard Ingrams, was fined £1,000 after being con-victed of causing noise pollution

in a case brought by the local

council. The conviction was

quashed in a crown court appe The ombudeman has found

South Oxfordshire district com

ignoring soundproofing restric-tions laid down when the sum-

mer season was given á licence.

He sald villagers suffered "obtrusive disturbance" and told the council to review its proce-

dures for granting a licence.

cil guilty of maladministration by

An open air opera festival has

Documents confirm nuclear cover-up

HE Ministry of Defence faces the prospect of a humiliating retreat from its 44-year insistence that there has never been a nuclear weapons accident in Britain, after overwhelming evidence emerged last week of British and American atom bomb damage in the 1950s and 1960s.

The Government's attempts on Monday to explain away documen-tary evidence of an accident — contradicting years of MoD denials is unlikely to satisfy growing depands for a full account.

Labour and Liberal Democrats pressed the Government to come clean after the first confirmation that it has repentedly lied about atomic bomb accidents. The proof is from a 1959 accident report by 49 Squadron at RAF Wittering, which recorded that during "Exercise Mayflight" a "2,000lb British nuclear weapon was accidentally jetti-

Rebecca Smithers

and Seumas Milne

THE Tories look set to become

sleaze row this week when the cabi-

net minister William Waldegrave

faces allegations that he played a

key role in the "dirty tricks cam-

paign" against the Labour prime minister Harold Wilson in the 1970s.

Mr Waldegrave - Chief Finan-

cial Secretary to the Treusury and a

survivor of the "Arms to Iraq"

scandal — has been named by a

Channel 4 television documentary

as a "middle man" for senior Tories

who wanted to spread rumours

about the then Mr Wilson's private

life and MI5-inspired stories that he

The veteran spy journalist Chap-

man Pincher recalled in his 1978

memoirs that in the early spring of

1974 he learnt that the then Tory

leader Edward Heath wanted to

delay Wilson from calling a snap

election, fearing the Tories would

ose. Wilson had been elected with a

parliamentary minority and looked

ikely to be returned with a sizeable

was a KGB agent.

embroiled in a new pre-election

soned . . . severe damage resulted to the weapon".

An MoD spokeswoman said on

Monday that it was not yet clear whether such an accident had taken place. In any case it could not involve a nuclear weapon because such exercises never used live warheads. "It would have been an inert training round, or dummy," she insisted. Other documents passed to the

Campaign for Nuclear Disarma-ment (CND) show that government scientists believed another accident involving a US aircraft at Greenham Common in Berkshire in August 1957, had contaminated the sur-

rounding area with uranium.

The MoD initially stuck with its ormula that "there has never been an accident involving damage to, or release of radioactivity from, a nuclear weapon in the UK". Challenged over the report of the Wittering accident — the kind of incident that government experts have accepted could detonate a nuclear

with an unnamed Tory intermedi-

ary; "I was put in touch with a Tory

party official, not now in Mrs

Thatcher's entourage, who told me

that the corrent thinking was that

any means of discouraging Wilson

from going to the country in June

"While the leadership still dis-

liked the whole idea of using

personal denigration, these were

Mr Pincher has now named Mr

Waldegrave - who was then Mr

Heath's chief of staff - as the

Mr Waldegrave was also a close associate of Lord Rothschild, who

introduced Mr Pincher to the "spy-

catcher" Peter Wright and was head

of the think tank Mr Waldegrave

The programme concedes that

Mr Heath may well not have known

of the approach to Mr Pincher, and

the former premier has written to

the programme-makers strongly

denying the allegations.
Harold Wilson was the target of a

series of smear campaigns in the

1960s and 1970s, which tried to use

USSR to brand him a Soviet agent.

served on in the early 1970s.

should be brought into play.

desperate times."

Alleged 'dirty tricks' against

Wilson return to haunt Tories

warhead directly — a spokesman said at the weekend that the department never commented on leaked classified documents.

silence started to crumble when it later emerged that the 37-year-old RAF log had already been declassified by the MoD itself and recently made available in the Public Record John Reid, Labour's defence

spokesman, warned that the Government was "digging itself into a deeper and deeper hole over this. rather than treating the British people as mature adults".

The revelations about US acci-

dents at the Greenham Common base, now closed, will heighten concerns about the cluster of lenkaemin cases in the Newbury area. The "excess incidence" of childhood leukaemia was first highlighted in a 1987 British Medical Journal study. The Government has reopened an investigation.

Last month, a secret 1961 report

13

by government scientists was leaked to CND. The scientists said the high concentrations of uranium around Greenham Common could have been caused only by damage But the Government's wall of to a nuclear weapon, and suggested a link with an aircraft fire at Greenham in February 1958. US authorities always denied the aircraft

carried an atomic bomb. The latest Greenham leaks show one of the most senior Aldermaston scientists, F D Morgan, attributed the contamination to another US nircraft fire in August 1957, and pinpointed uranium contamination.

Eddie Goncalves, CND's spokesman, called for a public inquiry into the contamination of the Greenham area, and a Royal Commission into the history of such ac-cidents. It had been a "tale of deceit, cover-ups and a callons willingness to put innocent lives at risk", he said. According to CNII's sources, there have been at least 20 accidents in the UK - one as recently

BRITAIN'S share of the bill for the Eurolighter has risen by a further £1.25 billion in apite of efforts to reorganise the our-nation aircraft project along more economical lines. The UK taxpayer's final bill is now expected to be £15.4 billion

ENNETH HALL, a farmer who shot a thief with a 12bore shotgun after seeing him stealing from his car, was found not guilty of causing grievous bodily harm with intent

WO women wrongfully arrested at Twyford Down during a demonstration against the construction of a motorway have won £17,000 damages from the police. Twenty women have now won civil actions over the demonstration.

TWO British teenagers, Sally Griffiths, aged 17, and each sentenced to five years in jail by a Morocenn court and fined £380 for possessing and trading 11lbs of cunnabis resin.

ABOUR has pledged to intro- duce laws to force political parties to declare all donations over £5,000 as part of a crackdown on political funding.

HE British Medical Assoclation said that it would resist any move by MPs to make doctors responsible for authenticating the mental stability of irearms applicants.

DETECTIVES investigating the rape and murder of a Plymouth teenager have asked to study DNA samples from the killer of Caroline Dickinson, who died on holiday in France nine said: "This is a port town with a

ignore that sort of thing."

SIR NEVILL MOTT, the joint winner of the Nobel Prize for physics in 1977, has died at the

VONNE Irving, one of the Church of England's first women priests, has been killed in an accident while on holiday in Zimbabwe. She was 54.

MPs damn elderly care proposals

A TTEMPTS by ministers to defuse controversy over paypeople were last week humiliatingly brushed aside by a Conservativedominated committee of MPs. The Commons health select com

mittee said the Government's proposals for partnership schemes, whereby the state would match any private insurance cover for longterm care, would be "at best a useful part" of a broader package that required further thought.

In scathing comments about ministers' presentation of the consulta- cause of the Government's refusal tive proposals, launched with a fanfare in a green paper in May, the asked by the committee to do so. committee said: "We deprecate the | The MPs are even more damning | Government's failure to provide even of the Government's other main idea, over the next 25 years in the num-

ous options. Until such costings are for a smaller initial occupations

enable people to avoid having to sell their homes to pay for long-term care by offering protection of assets in return for purchase of private insurance. A person who bought £40,000 insurance cover would get up to £60,000 protection on top of | funding are unfair - not least bethe £16,000 maximum available now.

The committee says in a report that while such schemes may benefit some people, it is impossible to make any proper judgement beto provide costings - even when

rough-and-ready costings of its vari- | that people should be allowed to op provided, the taxpayer is in effect | pension on retirement in return for a being invited to sign a blank cheque." | larger sum later that would be used The proposals are designed to | to fund any long-term care.

kept separate from any mechanism (or meeting care costs.

Although the committee acknowledges a widespread perception that arrangements for long-term care cause people do not see their home as an asset in the same sense as savings - it says that reports of a crisis in paying for such care are welcomed its call for a rethink o unsound or "downright alarmist".

Britain does not face as steep an increase in numbers of elderly

ber of over-85s is smaller than the rise between 1971 and 1994. While there are problems in

The crowd waves at Knebworth, where Oasis played to 125,000

fans undaunted by the rain. The band did, however, appear upset by

Manchester United's Charity Shield success; Loch 'n' roll, page 26

meeting care costs, such problems are "more manageable than many recent commentators have sug-gested" and it may be "both possible and affordable" to continue with the The report calls for pensions to be existing system. If change is considered, however, one option backed by the committee would be developferry link to France. You can't ment of flexible equity-release schemes enabling people to use the value of their homes to pay for care while keeping them until they die.

The committee's report received a mixed reaction. Tessa Jowell, the Labour shadow health minister, Government proposals, saying: The Torles have cynically whipped up fears about a 'demographic time bomb' to justify their plans to pass people as do many other countries.

Moreover, the projected increase the costs of long-term care from the



HE year's most tense weekend of loyalist and republican parades in Northern Ireland ended with relief that the worst of the marching season is over.

Thousands of republicans ralled in Belfast on Sunday to commemorate the 25th anniversary of internment but heeded calls from the platform to disperse quietly. Security was tight and police kept flag-waving loyalists behind a cordon of armoured vehicles as the Sinn Fein supporters passed close to the Shankill Road.

The rally took place after spo-radic overnight violence in Londonderry, An Apprentice Boys rally there on Saturday had threatened to plunge Ulster back into widespread violence, but the Protestant organisation defused the tension by which overlook Catholic Bogside.

Barbed wire, steel rods and concrete barriers blocked the route which 250 local members of the Apprentice Boys had hoped to walk. Beneath the contested stretch of wall lies the Bogside, where nation-alists also rallied in a dangerous game of showmanship which threatened to topple Northern Ireland back into serious violence.

But the mood in the city was oddly relaxed on Saturday morning, as if both sides had stepped back after a week of stormy negotiations, conscious of what was at stake. The Apprentice Boys made a symbolic but peaceful demonstration against what they claim is an attempt by the city's Catholic majority to strip them of their cultural heritage.

During the course of the Trou-

accepting a police ban on marching | bles, 16,000 of the city's Protestants | settlement of the annual marching along a stretch of the city's walls | have decamped and resettled in the | season crisis. "We uphold the right Waterside, Today, Londonderry effectively two chies.

Protestants believe the IRA's campaign of violence in Derry effectively ended some years before the 1994 ceasefire because the republicans had already achieved their goals. However, the parades issue opens up a new front. "It's a continuation of the war without guns by the IRA," said George Glenn, chairman of the Fountain Area Partnership.

Gerry Adams, the Sinn Fein president, did not speak at the Belfast rally on Sunday beyond introducing the main address, delivered by Dodie McGuinness. Ms McGuinness, who was elected

to represent West Belfast in the May elections, concentrated on Sinn Fein's increasing electoral support

season crisis. "We uphold the right of the loyal institutions to march but that does not include the right to march over anyone," she said. "We don't have to like what unionism repesents . . . but we do not seek to detroy the heritage or culture of that

rotestant community."
Mr Adams later added: "It is not a security problem, it is a political problem. The annual crisis of marches can be resolved if there is a proactive policy by the British gov-

He said the decision of the Apprentice Boys' governor, Alistair impson, to negotiate with Bogside esidents "shows the stupidity and bigotry of David Trimble's position" not to talk to people in the Garvaghy Road, Portadown, during last month's stand-off with the Orange Order at Drumcree.

he last 17 years. The Untouchables, published by the Democratic Audit and the Scarman Trust, says there are now 5.750 top-tier "executive" quangos in Britain — one for every 10,000 people. Yet the Government recogises only 301 of these in its officia 'quango count"

'Untouchable

quangos paid

£60bn a year

ON-ELECTED quangos account for one-third of all central

government spending while the

people who run them are an

"untouchable" and secretive élite

Despite the Conservative Gov

ernment's pledge to reduce the

umbers, powers, and costs of the

bodies when it came to power in

1979, the report lists 6,424 execu-

tive and advisory quangos which to-

1994-1995 — a 45 per cent increase

in their spending in real terms over

gether spent £60.4 billion is

according to a report last week.

Rebecca Smithers

It draws the distinction between executive quangos, which are direct instruments of government policy and deal with issues such as education, public housing, and health care, and advisory quangos, which form a "near invisible layer of gov-

There are 674 advisory quangos that give advice for ministerial dis cussion and legislation.

The authors of the report Wendy Hall and Stuart Weir Essex university — calculate that there are between 66,000 and 73,500 people who run quangos, nearly all of them appointed by the Government or self-appointing.
Ms Hall said: "The Nolan commit

tee's proposals on vetting members of quangos only scratch at the "Britain's quangos are among the

most secretive and undemocratic in

the Western world, and they ur gently require reform. The great majority of the public want to make

> are non-white. Only 34 per cent of children of black Caribbean descent are living with a married man and woman, 54 per cent are with a lone mother. By contrast, 90 per cent of children from Asian communities are with a married couple.

The Metropolitan Police nvolving the new baton, and

Mr Douglas's brother said the verdict was a "gross injustice"

after a Guardian poll showed the Labour lead ebbing away. Although that is a lie. And two, it's dangerous. she named no names, her comments were clearly aimed at Mr Blair's inner advisers, including Peter Mandelson and Alastair Campbell, who have been accused of briefing against her to journalists. The creation of "focus groups" where selected voters give their opinion to the party has been one of

Mr Mandelson's key strategies. In a swipe at their activities, Ms Short said: "I sometimes call them the people who live in the dark. Everything they do is in hiding."

She added: "These people are

making a terrible error. They think that Labour is unelectable, so they want to get something else elected, even though really it is still the Labour party. This is a dangerous game, which assumes people are Short shrift . . . party advisers "My life opportunitles were

brought to me by Labour and what they are now doing is allowing the Tory propaganda version of Labour to be reality. They are saying Vote for Tony Blair's New Labour. We all agree the old one was appalling and you all know that most of the people Labour are really the old ones. but we've got some who are nothing

I think they are profoundly wrong," Ms Short described Mr Blair as two people — one likeable figure, the other a Frankenstein creation of the "people in the dark".

"Tony and I had a get-together last night. I had a talk with nice Tony Blair. I really like that one. I think that's the real one." Of the other, the macho, figure, she said: I think he comes out in the dark."

She also expressed alarm at the way the shadow cabinet conducts business in private. "I've had this experience of some people who are meant to be on my side, one of whom I thought was a really good friend, being dishonest and trying to damage me. If you don't expect it it's shocking."

Conservative party chnirman Brian Mawhinney said of the article: "Clare Short has made it clear that the leadership of the Labour party hate each other and do not trust each other or Mr Blair. She is to be commended for her honesty."

Mr Prescott last week finally won battle to silence Mr Mandelson. Mr Prescott, in charge of the party while Mr Blair is on holiday, said he, rather than Mr Mandelson, who is

Short attacks Blair's 'men in the dark' head of the media unit, should han-dle the rift caused by their

Mr Prescott conceded that Ms Short's interview had been a gift to the Conservatives. "She is giving a great deal of ammunition to the Tory party and as someone who is concerned to see that the Labour party wins the next election, I can't be happy about that," he told BBC

Mr Prescott was keen, however to be seen to refute one of Ms Short's points - that Mr Mandelson was too influential in presenting Labour to the media. Mr Mandelson, while continuing to brief, last week seemed to be conceding he must be seen to defer.

Ms Short's interview caught the whole party by surprise. Mr Prescott had to cancel his return to his constituency to respond when he saw a BBC television news report of her attack. A decision was taken later to play down the uffair and not to sack Ms Short from her new post.

Later in the week in a move clearly co-ordinated with Mr Blair's office. Ms Short Issued a statement echoing Mr Blair's that the interview had been blown out of propor-

tion. "There are no policy differences between us and I strongly support Tony Blair's lead-

Scientists test vaccine to beat cancer

Chris Mihill

ANCER scientists last week sald trials of a vaccine that could beat cervical cancer are to start shortly. Researchers are also looking for

commercial backing to test a vaccine that could prevent glandular fever as well as a number of cancers associated with it.

A report from the Cancer Research Campaign says between 10 and 15 per cent of all cancers worldwide are linked to some form of virus, and it is probable that other viruses yet to be identified could rigger other forms of the illness.

identifying viruses as a cause of cancer opens the way for the development of vaccines, either as a form of treatment to boost the immune system of the cancer victims or, in some cases, to prevent the disease.

Lesley Walker, the campaign's head of information, said five viruses had been definitely linked to cancer and work was under way to find methods of countering these. Early human trials had started

using a vaccine against the HPV virus, which can trigger cervical cancer, and these studies were to be extended later this year.

Dr Walker said the campaign was ooking for a commercial partner to test a vaccine it has developed against the Epstein-Barr virus (EBV), which causes a range of cancers and also glandular fever. In Africa, EBV in combination

with malaria can produce a cancer of the lymph system in children known as Burkitt's lymphoma. It is also believed to be a trigger for a nasal cancer common in China, and is increasingly being linked to a l common form of lymph cancer. Hodgkin's disease.

The virus is also a cause of lymph concer in patients who have undergone bone marrow or organ transplants, because their immune system is suppressed.

would also stop glandular fever. The virus was carried by most people, and usually held in check by the immune system. Most picked it up as babies where it caused few symptoms, but among teenagers not exposed in infancy, it could trigger glandular fever.



On yer blke . . . Protesters from the anti-car pressure group Reclaim The Streets surround motorists in them legally open and accountable. It is time MPs of all parties London's rush hour to show solidarity with striking Underground drivers

PHOTOGRAPH: ANDREW TESTA

Redwood call to end Royal Mail's monopoly

Seumas Milne

THE Government's efforts to exploit the postal strikes for political advantage were upstaged last week when the rightwing Tory leadership hopeful John Redwood called a same-day service for existing cusfor the temporary suspension of the Royal Mail's letter monopoly to be made permanent.

As the postal workers' national programme of one-day strikes resumed and London Underground drivers had a seventh stoppage, Mr Redwood's plea for full deregulation party over the post and Underwas taken up by the parcels delivery firm White Arrow.

Echoing the views of the other main private courier companies -TNT, UPS and DHL - a spokes woman for White Arrow sald it was "simply not a commercial reality" to take advantage of a temporary letter monopoly suspension, even if the current one month was extended to

She said if the monopoly was permanently removed, there was a strong possibility that the firm would "get into letter post in a big | in their employees' support for in-

had with government.

Another private delivery service, City Post, claimed to be the first tomers in London during the Communication Workers' Union's fourth 24-hour stoppage in the dispute over working conditions.

The intervention by Mr Redwood threatened to undermine ministers' ground disputes and drew an irritable response from the President of the Board of Trade, Ian Lang, who was forced to warn against the potential threat to the universal price and delivery service from full-scale deregulation. He had earlier dropped broad hints about the likelihood of new Post Office break-up and privatisation proposals featur-

ing in the forthcoming Conservative Post Office managers last week claimed the first significant cracks

what discussions the company had | on the morning shift - about 15 per cent of those eligible — compared with 11,000 on the last strike day in July. The CWU disputed the figures. Management is sending a copy of last month's rejected agreement to each of the 130,000 delivery and sorting workers.

Meanwhile underground union eaders last week revealed a deal they had offered London Transport, that traded three years of belowinflation pay settlements for a 35-

It was rejected as too expensive by managers, who are also refusing to make a one-hour cut in the working week to 37% hours that the unions insist was agreed last year.

But this week's eighth tube strike, scheduled for Tuesday, was called off at the last minute as unions agreed to vote on new proposals. The unions decided to recommend the new offer to their drivers. Acceptance of the deal would mean an end to the twomonth dispute. There are four more one-day strikes scheduled.

way". She refused to comment on dustrial action, with 14,000 working | Raise the banner, page 12

Gay rage over 'cures'

THE gay pressure group OutRage last week called on the Department of Health to compensate gay men who had been subjected to aversion ther-apy to "cure" their homosexuality, writes Chris Mihill.

The procedure involved electric shocks or nausea-inducing drugs while patients were shown

The treatment occurred in the 1960s and 1970s but OutRage said many men were left with lasting psychological damage. The group said that some who underwent the treatment were as young as 14, and at least one man died as a result.

OutRage has written to the Health Secretary, Stephen Dorrell, urging him to set up a inquiry and to establish how nany gay men had been harmed by the treatment. It wants comensation for those damaged, and a ban on use of theraples aimed at "curing" homosexuality

Blacks and Asians still at social disadvantage

David Brindle

David Hencke

LARE SHORT, the contro-

leader's advisers of jeopardising a

Labour victory at the general elec-

tion and threatening its existence.
"If we don't win, it will be the end

of Labour as a party of power at

least for a generation, if not for

ever," she said in an interview in the

"I think the obsession with the

media and the focus groups is

making us look as if we want power

at any price and that we don't stand

for anything. And the people who think Tony has got to look very

strong are making him less attrac-tive than he is. This is a very stupid

Ms Short, demoted in Mr Blair's

shadow cabinet reshuffle last

month, said: "He came along as a

fresh, young, principled and decent

man and some people are trying to

turn him into macho man. I know

they are doing it because they think

it is the way to win, but I think

they're making the wrong judgement

Labour was clearly distressed by

and they endanger our victory."

New Statesman magazine.

versial shadow cabinet min-

ister, last week accused her

BLACK and Asian people remain lisadvantaged on most main social and economic indicators, an official report suggests.

Some groups, notably Indians, are doing relatively well in areas such as education and home ownership, but ethnic minorities generally fare worse than whites on grounds of unemployment, pay, housing, or

as crime victims. The report, Social Focus on Ethnic Minorities, is published by the Office for National Statistics and is a compilation of data mostly in the public domain already. Until recently there was official reluctance to collect statistics broken down by

More than 3 million people, just under 6 per cent of the population,

households own or are buying their own homes, compared with 36 per cent of Bangladeshi and 40 per cent of black households.

Labour leader John Prescott said: "I

am saddened to read what Clare

Short has said. I am sure some of

her remarks will be blown up out of

all proportion. And, as she will agree with me, the Tories remain

the real enemy at whom we should

In education, Asian children de better at GCSEs than all other groups, including whites. At age 18, 65 per cent of Indians, 61 per cent of Pakistanis and Bangladeshis, 72 per cent of other Asians and 50 per cent of blacks are in full-time education. compared with 38 per cent o whites. But, unemployment is far higher among all minorities than among whites.

On pay, average hourly full-time rates are as low as £4.78 for Pakistani/Bangladeshi women, com pared with £6.59 for white women and only £6.87 for Pakistani Bangladeshi men, against £8.34 for

All minority groups are statisti cally more likely than whites to be victims of both personal and prop erty crimes. But, the report points inner city areas, where most blacks

Police not charged over deaths

O POLICE officer will be custody of Shift Lapite, a Nigerian asylum seeker whom a jury decided was unlawfully killed, writes Dunoan Campbell. Last week's decision came in

the same week as it was announced that there would be no prosecution relating to Wayne Douglas, the man whose death in custody sparked the Brixton riots of last December. It also follows a verdict of misadventure by an inquest jury on Brian Douglas (no relation), who died after being struck by a new-style police baton in May last year. The Crown Prosecution

Service said no officer would be Lapite, who died, aged 34, of dation after being put in a neckhold when arrested on suspicion of possessing drugs in December 1994. His family is said to be considering a private

publicly expressed its regret at Brian Douglas's death, the first said it would study recommendations on baton use.

and that the family would consider a private prosecution.



People do crazy things.

But you know you needn't be tied to long-term saving when you're on a short-term contract.

Tuporficially, many plans can look similar. OCloser exemination will reveal the differences in performance, flexibility and price - and by price, we mean charges. Obviously, all companies will charge for setting up and running a plan. These charges are deducted from your contributions. The lower the charges, the mure in invested. The Equitable is renowned for its low-charging

plane", and one reason for this is our exceptionally low operating costs. According to a recent survey, The Equitable has the lowest ratio of management expenses to remium income of any U.K. Itle emurance company In addition to giving your money a head start in

this way, our International Investment Plan offers the kind bility that can match the expetricte You won't be ited to a fixed term, you can contribute

when it suits you, in dollars or sterling; and you can choose unit-haled or with-profits tovestment routes. The latter invests in a mixed basket of assets which spreads the investment risk and then amouths the peaks and troughs normally associated with such portfolios. The Equitable Life has been in the Instincts of

arend investment since 1762. Our International Branch in Guernsey offers flexible, tax-free plans based on benefits that are the envy of our compelitors.

To find out how our plans can be tailor-made to holp secure your future and build your capital, just post or fax the coupon. If you'd velcome personal advice without obligation, we'll be happy to call you if you include your telephone number



THE EQUITABLE LIFE FOUNDED IN GREAT BRITARY IN 1762

Equitables [J Internation	leass tell me more sel favestraent Pla sel Personal Pensis	
I am interested to	Investing in	US Dollars	
Name (Tib).		M. 17. 11.	AL ELIS KAFE
Address.	بسخادك		
11:	<u> </u>		
		···	
Phone call one at	(lin	OMT) 17.8.16	-01
OREA		NATIONAL CODE	1 1

SERIOUS ALLEGATIONS about nuclear accidents on British soil in the 1950s have once again been brushed aside by the Ministry of Defence. This time it can be shown that the MoD is telling whoppers. Last month, it admitted that two Aldermaston scientists had suggested, 35 years ago, that nuclear contamination in the Newbury area was probably caused by a fire in a loaded nuclear bomber — but said the scientists were wrong.

More detailed evidence, obtained by Campaign for
Nuclear Disarmament, now shows that the accident — at Greenham Common in August 1957 was a matter of record and that the nuclear fallout, in the view of one of the most senior wespons scientists at Aldermaston, betrayed the chemical "signature" of a US bomb. But, the MoD flatly denies the contents of documents whose authenticity it does not, however, dispute.

Two areas of immense concern are raised by these reports and the equivocal, tight-lipped response to them in Whitehalf. The first is a straightforward matter of public health. People who live near Aldermaston and Greenham Common, and those living near other civilian or military sites where nuclear material was used or stored around the country, want to know whether they are safe. The high incidence of leukaemia close to the Greenham Common base forms a suspicious "cluster"; it can only be properly investigated if the fullest information on all previous incidents is made available. The Department of Health's own investigation in 1989 was denied access to the evidence - it has now been re-opened. The problem is compounded as former military bases are returned to public use and the risk of exposure is

The MoD has told a palpable untruth in at least one important aspect of this affair. It has consis tently denied that any accident "involving damage" to a nuclear weapon has taken place in the UK. Apart from the Greenham Common accident as reported close to the time by the Aldermaston scientists, we now know of at least one other incident: a 2,000lb nuclear weapon was "accidentally jetti-soned" from the bomb-bay of a plane at RAF Wittering in 1959, "severe damage resulted to the weapon upon hitting the hard standing". Severe means severe, not a dent or a scratch, which might allow the MoD to shrug off the incident. The information comes discorbs from the October. mation comes directly from the Operations Record Book of the base commander — in a document declassified, perhaps inadvertently, by the MoD itself and obtained by CND from the Public Records Office. Is it now going to say that the base commander, like the Aldermaston scientists, had made a mistake? Only a full disclosure of the facts can allay public concern.

We are also entitled to ask how many other inci dents of a deniable nature remain to be exposed. All this will be justified by "national interest", but the argument for Britain becoming a nuclear power was also conducted in secrecy. Greenham Common is not remote history; the safety risk will be with us as long as Britain has nuclear weapons. And how long will that be?

Russia staggers at the start

ORIS YELTSIN is in trouble of all kinds: last week's presidential inauguration provided few clues to the most personal one - his shaky state of health. Was shifting the ceremony from outside in cutting measure - or was it really a device to save Mr Yeltsin (who has not been seen in public for six weeks) from more than the minimum effort? If the motive was financial, it can only be a miniscule gesture. Last month, the IMF suspended its latest loan disbursement, citing Moscow's failure to collect taxes. The finance ministry revealed that the federal Russian government has collected only 63 per cent of the planned tax intake for the first half of the year. And the economics minister says that he is considering putting off some of Mr Yeltsin's extravagant campaign promises — for more social spending and support for domestic industry - in says he is going for gold. The polls can now be an effort to bring down the budget deficit. This is expected to show some improvement in the warm

the defence sector, where the government falls to pay for work done so that the factories cannot pay their debts — or even their workers. The latest headline case concerns a nuclear submarine main-tenance plant in the Russian Far East, whose au-sets have been seized by the local water company

Perhaps the most remarkable feature of postelection Russia is the calmness with which a grim situation is accepted on all sides. Foreign economic advisers stick to their familiar view that things must get worse before they get better. (Some claim to see signs already of an underlying improvement). Foreign governments try to pretend that Mr Yeltsin's state of health is not deeply disturbing. The mafia-ridden nature of Soviet society is taken for granted, and in some quarters even interpreted as an ugly but inescapable feature of the shift towards a fully marketised economy. Mr Yeltsin's election pledges are acknowledged to have been almost entirely phoney and yet everyone is resigned to the result. The latest bloodshed in Chechenia - where he claimed to be promoting peace — is the most blatant example. Much of the Russian electorate seems to accept the deception, though the Communist Party, now painfully reconstituting itself as the People's Patriotic Union, may offer a chance for second thoughts at the regional

None of this necessarily means that we should predict any dramatic upheavals in the near future. Societies have a remarkable capacity for survival under adverse circumstances, and Russia has become used to making the best of the worst. Mr Yeltsin has his own theory on what is needed and has appealed for suggestions on a "national idea to unite all Russians". That is really alarming: the only ideologies around would make things even

Dole and Kemp go for gold

WHEN A CANDIDATE for the US presidential election has lagged as far behind as Bob Dole, he has to resort to desperate measures like being honest. Asked what impelled him to the 11th hour choice of Jack Kemp as his running mate, he replied with one word: "Winning!" It is a sign of Mr Dole's troubles that the choice of a potential vice-president — a position traditionally not worth that famous bucket of warm spit — has acquired such importance.

At the least, Mr Kemp has given the US media something to tug and tease into shape. He is nothing if not a communicator, though not of the most disciplined kind, and he is never short of a word, though sometimes too long on them. There could be a real problem that he may show up Mr Dole's own rhetorical deficiencies and lack of voter appeal. It may also be hard to avoid the exposure of discrepancies on policy, however firmly Mr Dole has already lectured him on the need to remember that he is only No 2. Yet if he succeeds, he should go further than his boss to fulfilling the promise to take the Republican campaign "to every commu-nity and every neighbourhood".

Choosing a running mate who speaks on another wavelength is no novelty: Mr Dole's motive for doing so is transparent too. It is not so much that the two candidates differ on a range of issues where Mr Kemp takes a somewhat (although not always consistently) more liberal view. It is that the more conservative Mr Dole finds himself running a campaign which to potential voters looks even further to the right by many degrees. It is more than a shade humiliating to have to welcome the offer of a truce from Pat Buchanan. Attempts to not, in fact, have increased as much patch in a few moderate speakers to the conven- as people fear; but the conse were offset by the manner in which two influ- quences of losing such a job are when a majority in the workplace ential state governors were warned off from more devastating than they have speaking in favour of abortion. Mr Kemp is less of a moderate than he will now be portrayed: he has been described as an arch-conservative who makes conservatives uneasy. But he does call for the empowerment of the poor (through the marketplace), does not slam the unions or denounce affirmative action, and is opposed to cutting down government services for immigrants. In atyle as relied on by the Tories as a source well as policy, he can also speak — unlike Mr Dole
— to rather than through people.

— to rather than through people. Mr Dole has called for an Olympic campaign and unlikely to help solve the debt cycle, which has glow of a convention "success". Mr Kemp may win already hit a great deal of industry particularly in a few medals, but will it be enough?

Raise the banner higher than ever

John Gray argues that in an economic culture of pervasive insecurity, trade unions have a vital role

RE TRADE UNIONS obso-A lete? The proposals by Ian Lang, President of the Board of Trade, are an authentic embodi ment of the economic philosophy of the new Right, in which unions are regarded as anachronistic impediments to the efficiency of the labour market.

Lang has proposed ending that long-standing immunity from claims for damages which is granted to unions engaged in lawful publicsector strikes. This immunity has been a fixed point in the legal framework of British industrial relations ever since the Trades Disputes Act of 1906 overturned the House of Lords decision in 1901 to allow the Taff Vale Railway Company to sue the railwaymen's union for damages caused through strikes. If they are ever enacted, Lang's

proposals will return us to the era of the Taff Vale judgment. Unions such as Aslef and the RMT, which are involved in the current rail dispute, will be liable for potentially colossal damages, and subject to se questration of their assets if they do not, or cannot, pay. In another twist in the New Right ratchet effect, the right to strike will have been effectively removed from 5 million public sector workers. Britain will enter the new millennium with a fin-desiècle Victorian labour market.

In part, these proposals are merely pre-election gambits, aimed at Tony Blair. They apply the now familiar Tory strategy of confronting the Labour leader with policies that are designed to force him to choose between losing electoral support and risking conflict within his party. The current rash of strikes is undoubtedly a factor favourable to the Conservatives in the deliberations of many voters; but the suggestion of another massive assault on trade unions may actually alienate some wavering Tories. In a time of deep anxiety about job security, unionbashing is not the sure-fire votewinner it was in the 1980s.

The Tories have not understood that the climate of economic insecurity, in conjunction with the deep changes that the unions themselves have undergone, has wrought a transformation in public attitudes. People who live in fear of losing their jobs are unlikely to regard unions as the chief obstacle to their prosperity. The likelihood of losing an old-fashioned tenured job may been for generations.

The widespread perception that if you lose your job you risk losing everything is, in present circum-stances, entirely reasonable. This is not an economic environment in which anti-union sentiment can be

What the electorate is telling the pollaters is that, in an economic culture of pervasive insecurity, trade unions have a vital role. They are valuable intermediary institutions

standing between wage-earners and the uncertainties and potential nequity of the free market.

GUARDIAN WEEKLY August 18 1998

Protecting employees from the worst insecurities of the free market was the original rationale of trade unionism. The unions' role as a defence against insecurity accounted for their strong growth in the 1880s. a period not unlike our own in its enormous economic inequalities and unregulated labour market. Now, as then, trade unions are Indispensable defenders of elementary economic rights for millions of people,

This does not mean that the unions can — or should — hope to return to the position they occupied in the 1970s. In European countries such as France and Germany, which have not been subject to a long period of neo-liberal policy, membership of trade unions has nevertheless fallen steeply. Even in Britain, the decline in union membership since the late 1970a from more than half the workforce to around a third probably arises as much from developments in technology, production and world trade as from policies such as privatisation and the outlaw ing of closed shops.

The shrinkage of mass manu facturing and the growth of leaner modes of production, together with the practices of outsourcing and in ternational transfer of jobs that an made possible by new technologies, all tend to reduce the leverage of trade unions over employers. It is this new economic environment o advancing globalisation, even more than the reforms of the 1980s, that rules out any return to the old

F TRADE unions are to protect the economic security of their members in an age of rapid technological change and enhanced global competition, they will need to do more than defend jobs. In collabora tion with employers and governmen they will need to support a sustained effort to reakill the workforce.

The adversarial industrial culture of Thatcherite capitalism, in which the unions are constantly put on the defensive, has not helped them view firms as enterprises in whose effi ciency they have a real stake. Yet the future for the unions cannot b n resistance to change. It must be n enabling their members to cope

What the unions need now is the opposite of Ian Lang's atavistic proposals. They need an accepted enables them to develop freely as autonomous institutions. Labour is committed to enacting a minimum wage, joining up to the European Union's Social Chapter and giving wants it. These commitments are es sential if we are to move forward from the neo-Victorian industrial cu ture that Labour stands to inheri from the Tories.

Will they be an adequate re sponse to the new anxieties of people at work? As globalisation and economic insecurity advance together throughout the world, overturning the free-market consensus and shattering political settlements how Labour deals with the fears that have transformed public attitudes to the unions may determine its fate in government

Le Monde

Bosnia's Croats flaunt their power

Rémy Ourdan in Moster

EITHER the Yugoslavs nor the outside world the poor and parched region of Herzegovina, the southwestern part of Bosnia-Herzegovina, until war broke out in the former Yugoslavia live years ago.

Only the town of Mostar could lay any claim to fame, with its Stari Most (Old Bridge), a marvellous example of Ottoman architecture spanning the beautiful Neretva river. But in the five years that it has

been under Croat rule, Herzegovina has sprung to life. Sleepy villages that no one had ever heard of, such as Grude, Siroki Brijeg and Posusje, have played a prominent role in the war. The region has succeeded in building itself up into a power that is able to exert political, military and financial influence on the Zagreb regime. It has also played a key role n the fate of Sarajevo. With Croatia's backing, the

self-proclaimed mini-republic of Herzeg-Bosna became a leading player in the conflict and an important partner in the peace process. I had a great deal in common with the Republica Srpska of the Pale-based ultranationalist Serbs: it grew out of a similar determination to divide the Bosnian communities and open up the way to unification with a neighbouring state.

Herzeg-Bosna pursued a policy of terror and ethnic cleansing. It destroyed cultural identities and shattered the previously untroubled existence of the local population. Symbolic of that policy was the de-





November 1993. It set up concentraion camps, where Muslims were mprisoned and often executed. Dretel, Gabela and Rodoc are names that conjure up chilling nemories of the recent past.

Serbs, too, were persecuted in Herzegovina and expelled from heir homes. Mosques, Orthodox churches and houses occupied by non-Croats were razed to the ground. The Croats' sole failure was in Mostar, where they had to make do with only half the town.

The other weapon available to the Herzegovina Croats was cash. Against all expectations, Herzeg-Bosna has become the richest region in the former Yugoslavia.

Most of its money comes from its system of "customs dues". During the war and even today, the Croats take a cut on all products going into Bosnia. They earn millions of dollars from legal trading, and more from trafficking.

struction of Mostar's old bridge in | Bosnian Muslims had no weapons when the conflict began. The authorities in Herzegovina have also shamelessly "taxed" foreigners and sometimes even humanitarian nid

> Herzeg-Bosna gets additional revenue from Medjugorje, the site of an apparition of the Virgin Mary, which attracts hundreds of thousands of Western pilgrims every year. Souvenir shops there sell not ust statuettes of Jesus but badges of the Ustashi, the Croatlan pro-Nazi novement of the forties.

This considerable wealth has enabled the Herzegovina authorities to help the Croatian president, Franjo ludiman, to extend his country's borders at the expense of Bosnia.

They have made extensive contributions to the defence of Croatia and the financing of Tudiman's party, the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ). When the people of Herzegovina were called upon to fight in Slavonia or Krajina, they were willing. And they were always lourished in the region — the prepared to loosen their purse-

strings when money was needed to Croatia or to buy arms from abroad. Herzegovina's financial clout

enabled it to place its people in the Zagreb administration. In the defence ministry, Gojko Susak, who was born in Siroki Brijeg, helped Tudjman to draw up the borders of "Greater Croatia". Last November voters in Herzegovina enabled the HDZ to obtain a majority in the roatian parliament.

Herzegovina's influence has grown steadily over the years. Many nembers of the Croatian diaspora who made their money in Australia, Canada or South America hail from the region. The men of Herzeg-Bosna who threw their weight into the war effort and became influential within the HDZ subsequently

invested in Croatia. They have also invested along the Dalmatian coast from Zadar to Dubrovnik. The tourist industry in that area is set to become highly

close ties between Zagreb and Herzegovina over the past five vears sometimes wonder who controls whom. The village of Grude, which the first "president" of Herzeg-Bosna, Mate Boban, chose as his "capital", sometimes appears o play a key role in Zagreb's deci-

In 1993, Susak and Boban were often to be seen at Zagreb's Inter-Continental hotel flaunting their power. The financial clout of their region secured them key posts in Fudjman's war cabinet. Diplomats tend to see the republic of Herzeg-Bosna as a mafia-like organisation But if it contains mafia elements they are perfectly integrated into the republic's military and political

Boban, who had been charged with "crimes against humanity" and barred from political activities, was appointed head of major corporations, such as the oil company had and Croatia Airlines. Equally predictable have been Tudjman's frequent tributes to the valiant Croats of Herzegovina.

However, the people of Herzegovina are not completely free agents — through the HDZ, Zagreb keeps a tight control on the region's politics. But their main allegiance is to those of their leaders who are based in the Croatian capital, particularly Susak. The long-term aim of Herzeg-Bosna is to be united with its motherland.

Herzegovina's hour of glory struck in August 1995, after centuries of oblivion, when Zagreb reconquered Krajina. The man who stood proudly on Tudjman's right as he kissed the Croatian flag on the heights of the fortress of Knin was Susak. The ceremony was intended as a tribute not only to the army, but dso to Herzeg-Bosna.

Tudjinan then paraded before enthusiastic crowds in Zagreb. The only man allowed to stand next to him in the presidential car was once again Susak. Tudjman stressed how grateful he was to Susak for his part in the victory of "Greater Croatia".

That day, all the Croats of Herze-

govina felt as if they, too, were standing next to the president. Needless to say, they have never been overly enthusiastic about the Muslim-Croat federation.

(August 8)

Scandinavians fear being saddled with Baltics' security

Our correspondent

WHEN he visited the White VV House on August 6, the Swedish prime minister, Göran Bill Clinton on issues relating to | ardise the flimsy edifice they are nia, Latvia, and Lithuania, and the enlargement of Nato.

Their talks reflected the importance the United States administration attaches to an issue that has far wider implications than the state of bilateral relations with Stockholm, which could not be rosier at the moment. What really interests Washington is the problem of security in

countries bordering on the Baltic sea. termoves that have been going on | countries that have most to lose between Moscow, Washington and from the process are the three the Europeans in the course of their | Baltic states, which are in danger of efforts to hammer out new security being isolated in a grey area on the structures following the fall of the confines of northern Europe — and

Berlin Wall entered a more concrete phase after the re-election of President Boris Yeltsin.

The time has now come for the various parties to put their cards on the table, make decisions and envisage concessions so as not to jeop-

has been mobilising the energies of former Soviet-bloc countries, one or two favourites have begun to edge ahead of the rest of the field. Poland, the Czech Republic and Hungary are expected to form part of the first batch of new members -as carly as 1997.

It is a prospect that worries not only the probable runners-up, but The diplomatic moves and coun- also some of their neighbours. The being isolated in a grey area on the

under the watchful eye of their Russian neighbour. That is a scenario Stockholm and

Helsinki want at all costs to avoid: they fear that in future they may be anded with responsibilities towards the Baltic states which they are unwilling to shoulder.

In the race to join Nato, which | in his talks with Clinton, while at the same time outlining the advantages the Baltic states would enjoy by joining the European Union in the near

It seems, however, that Washington would welcome an increased commitment by Sweden and Finland on the matter of regional security.

The US will have to make concessions to appease Russia, which regards any enlargement of Nato that includes its immediate neighbours as a threat to Moscow's security.

Official sources in both Stockholm and Helsinki stress that any

their part is out of the question, particularly because the Balts theniselves are against the idea.

At the same time the Clinton ad ninistration accepts that some kind of resture in the direction of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania will be nec essary - both to reassure them designs on those republics - if they are left out of a European-wide security deal.

A recent report, thought to be a blueprint for the State Department's new policy on Baltic security, argued that Estonia, which has gone further along the road to reform than its neighbours, should enjoy a status similar to that of Sweden and Finland — that is to say membership of the EU and increased co-operation with Nato within the framework of "partnership for peace".

In one respect, this approach is in line with the policy advocated by prime minister, Paavo Lipponen. additional security undertaking on Stockholm, which wants to see

security strengthened in the Baltic sea region by Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania joining the EU.

Despite divergences of opinion within the EU, Persson has made this policy one of his hobby-horses since taking over leadership of the Social-Democrat government in March. The key notion of his policy is

"gentle security", a strategy aimed at involving the Balts as closely as operation in such areas as nuclear safety, customs and the fight against organised crime. But the Swedish and Finnish governments have stated that they will totally respect the Baltic states' right to decide on their own security and to apply for Nato membership.

Several senior Finnish officials believe that the possibility of Finland joining the alliance - unthink able only a few years ago - should now be examined. But that has been ruled out by both President Martii Ahtisaari and the Social Democratic

(August 8)

Zapatistas seek to end 'pockets of oblivion'

Catherine Bédarida attends an international

conference in Chiapas and, right, talks to the rebel group's leader.

Subcomandante Marcos

N THE course of an international meeting against ncoliberalism organised in various Chiapas villages last week, the Zapatista leader, Subcomandante Marcos, claimed that the mountains of southeast Mexico were one of the "nockets of oblivion" to which the neoliberals had consigned human beings whom they regarded as

Around 3,000 participants from 42 countries, many of them French, Spanish and Italian, attended the event. They ranged from the Argentine "Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo" group and representatives of Brazil's Movement of the Landless to internationale-singing would-be Marxist guerrilleros and militants from voluntary and Catholic organisations. For a few days they experienced the life of the Indians at first hand, sharing their meagre rations and having to make do without electricity, telephones or paved roads.

Wooden amphitheatres were spe-cially built in five different villages so that discussions could be held on politics, economics, social issues, culture and ethnic minorities. Using sometimes rather fired arguments. delegates denounced the way that women, indigenous people and the poor were being oppressed and

Stalls sold everything from books coloured Zapatista scarves and Trot-

Jean-Pierre Tuquol in Ségou

T HE Office du Niger, a company based in the Malian town of

Segou, encapsulates much of the history of 20th century black Africa.

It was set up by the French colonial

power in the twenties to exploit land

watered by the Niger river, supply

France with cotton and, if need be

produce rice that would help eradi-

cate famine in French West Africa.

The government appointed a young civil engineer, Emile Bélime, to run

the company. He had shown that a

huge alluvial plain in French Sudan

(present-day Mali) could be irri-

The project required a big dam

and 100km of canals to be built.

Money was no problem, at least to

start with. It was provided by

France. Labour was recruited on

the spot, and by force. These "vol-

unteers" later became soldiers in

Dramane Diarra, who lives in a

building project. "In 1940 there was

a raid on our village," he remem-

bers. "I was 21 and my wife was

pregnant. French soldiers rounded

up all the young men and told us we

France to fight the Germans or stay-

ing here to build the dam." Diarra

does not regret the years he spent

village near Ségou, is one of the few and France kept on pouring money

had to choose between going to | The Office du Niger hardly did

in forced labour on the Markala | cided on every aspect of its manage-

dam project. "I'm proud of the dam | ment, right down to rice and cotton

into the project

the French Colonial Army.

gated through mere gravitation.



Marcos and his supporters are trying to end their geographical and political isolation

skyist magazines to cans of Coca-Cola and snacks wrapped in maize | members of the Zapatista National | Zapatista army and its sympathisers, some of whom still have close con-

At the mountain village of La Realidad, participants set up their hammocks in the midst of wooden houses and mixed with Indian families that rank among the most destitute inhabitants of Mexico.

Contact between foreigners and Maya Indians, who have resisted white domination for centuries, was not easy. Marcos made one or two appearances, but he seemed tired and frail. Although a talented writer, he is a poor speaker.

The hooded Zapatistas present at the debates did not say much.

Reporters repeatedly asked to meet cism. The authoritarianism of the

To work the virtually unpopulated and newly irrigated land, the

French authorities uprooted several

thousand people by force from their

native regions in southern Mali and

By the end of the war, the Office

du Niger, by then one of the biggest

companies in West Africa, had a

workforce of 6,000 black "settlers"

and 200 French expatriates. The

12,000 hectares of land they worked

fell far short of the 1 million

hectares it had been hoped to bring

Bélime, who had blotted his copy-

book by collaborating with the

Vichy régime, was replaced as di-rector. The Office then became a

state within a state. Regardless of

whether it made economic sense or

not, it increased the area of irrigated

land to 40,000 hectares. Cotton.

whose yields were only a quarter of

those in British Sudan, was replaced

by rice. There was mounting unrest

among the 35,000 black workers,

The Office's archives chart the

company's decline. A report commis-

sioned by the government from the

tax inspectorate in 1956 concluded

that the project had been "a failure".

any better when it was nationalised following Maii's ladependence in

1960. The socialist government de-

— before, there were only wild animals and birds round here."

prices and the supply of seeds and tain the irrigation channels. Its four fertiliser.

End of era nears for Mali's colonial entity

present-day Burkina Faso.

tained only a few regimented and unspontaneous interviews. The Zapatista army keeps tight discipline in

Marcos says the Zapatista movement wants to have a mainly political mpact and seek solutions "by peaceful means". The Zapatista cause and its secular approach to the defence of the oppressed clearly struck a chord with foreign activists and visiting personalities, among whom was François Mitterrand's widow Danielle, filmmaker Pavel Lungin and sociologist Alain Touraine.

The Office's workforce increased

and output fell to below its pre-

assively, corruption became rife,

ndependence level although more

land had been brought under irriga-

tion. In 1968, Mali changed from

being an exporter to an importer of

rice. Cotton production was aban-

doned in 1970 because land else-

where in southern Mali was better

suited to cotton-growing and did not

Lieutenant Moussa Traoré, who

brought down Modibo Keita's regime in 1968, was no doctrinaire

believer in collectivisation and cen-

tralisation - unlike his predeces-

sor. His shift of policy and the

introduction of rice varieties used in

southeast Asia's "green revolution"

enabled the Office to survive. What

also helped was the realisation by

the international community, after

the terrible Sahel drought in 1973,

that the Office's land could act as an

invaluable safety net for food

France helped finance the irrigation

system's rehabilitation and the

building of a training centre. Rice

yields soared to six times their pre-

vious level, and soon the Office was

unable to husk all its output. Farm-

producers bought their first rice

mills and the Office's monopoly

It now has only a few hundred

staff and does no more than main-

ers' associations and Independent

In 1986, the Neth

began to be eroded.

production.

nections with Marxist hardliners, means it is impossible to predict whether the movement's violent wing or Marcos's more imaginative approach will win through.

For the past two years the Zapatistas have been trying to break out of their geographical and political iso-lation by holding a succession of national and international conferences. A meeting with trade unions, political parties and voluntary associations took place in June; and an Indian orum was held in Oventic in July.

Negotiations with the government are due to start up again this week.

(August 6)

milled and polished, are up for sale.

There remains one last hurdle:

change the system: "The irrigated

point is that if a farmer refuses to

pay his water bills, we can withdraw

his sleeve that now sounds a trifle

antiquated in a country that con-

verted to neoliberalism and demo-

But he cannot win the battle. The

funding agencies are determined to

ensure a favourable outcome for

farmers, even if it takes time. They will then be left with a sizeable cul-

tural problem on their hands; how

to persuade farmers to reinvest the

money they make in something more worthwhile than cattle, which

carry prestige in Mail but are essentially unproductive.

(July 28/29)

ressure on him.

everage."

Its heavy equipment stands unused. Farmers sell their output on the free market; the population of vilommunal decisions. lages in the area has stopped dwindling; and Mali is about to become self-sufficient in rice once again.

la your movement a guerrilla No, we define ourselves as

land ownership. The World Bank and other funding agencies want those who work the land to own it seven different ethnic groups, is rather than the Office. The comcluding the four main ones in Chla pany's director. Dr Fernand Traoré, thinks it would be a mistake to esponsibility of the Subcoman dante [Marcoa].

land is an investment and belongs to It's a very peculiar army, which does a lot of talking and little, if any, the whole nation. If farmers are given ownership, there is a risk of big estates being built up. Another words than with military action.

crisis will result in democratisation or, on the contrary, in fascist-style regression. Politics here is a dead cracy at the same time: "Rice is a end, a victim of its electoral logic, strategic cereal in Mali. If the state | whereas social movements like our ere to privatise land, it would are flourishing. The best scenario deprive itself of an instrument of | would be that such movements will open up the Mexican political arena and bring democracy into people's

Directeur: Jean-Marie Colombani World copyright by C Le Monde, Paris All rights strictly reserved

GUARDIAN WEEKLY

larity, but also to get foreigners and Indiana to meet each other. The issues we're raising here go beyond the case of our communities. The effects of international financial policies - unemployment and the marginalisation of whole popula tions - are comparable to those of a new world war.

You have turned down government money earmarked for control. Will you be able to maintain that radical stance for much longer now that neighbouring villages, which support the government, are getting corrugated iron, medicines and a number of amenities?

We were forgotten for so many years that we're used to doing without government help. Before our January 1994 uprising, the government sent nothing to Chiapas and didn't care about the Indian communities. Today, the aim of our resistance is to ensure that life in the Indian communities doesn't revert

Zapatista women activists have mposed a "revolutionary women's law" which specifies their rights. Why?

Situations vary from one ethni group to another. But in general women are in a state of greater slavery than men. They hardly go t school. They work a great deal getting water from the river, gather ing wood and working in the fields as well as looking after their children.

The women insurgents in our army are in a stronger position: our struggle enables them to study and take part in political decisions. They are not allowed to become mothers because conditions in the moun tains make it impossible to bring u

Yet soldiers still don't like being given orders by women comman ders, just as villagers find it hard to accept the participation of women in

regular army. Decisions are taken by an Indian collective appointed by pas. Tactical decisions are the

fighting. Its main weapons are words. It gets better results with

concession. If he owns the land, How do you think Mexican politwe will no longer be able to put ical life is going to evolve in the near future?
I don't know if the present political Traoré has another argument up

everyday lives.

(Auguat 6)

Le Monde

The Washington Post

Releasing Iraq's Oil

EDITORIAL

BY A TYRANT'S logic, it is a victory for Saddam Husseln that he now has broken a key sanction, on oil sales, that the United Nations imposed on Iraq for its aggression against Kuwait in 1990-91. He can claim he has stared down his international adversaries and strengthened his own rule. But he did it only by making his people pay terribly and unnecessarily. He long refused the humanitarian loophole offered by the United Nations, contending its terms for selling oil and bringing in food and emergency supplies impinged on Iraqi sovereignty. And so they did, but for a good reason: fraq had started and lost a war and proved itself a cheat in peace. Only now, having flaunted his defiance, has Saddam Hussein accepted the

Iraq will be able to resume oil exports at the semiannual rate of \$2 billion (half the prewar rate). Some \$1.1 billion will go for food and medicines, \$600 million for war reparations, up to \$300 million for relief of Kurds and up to \$100 million for the cost of

The Security Council gets to review these arrangements every six months on the basis of U.N. monitoring. The United States held up the deal in order to tighten the monitoring and get it down in writing. But of course the devil will be in the enforcement details. The impression is that the sanctions are over. The reality is that a closely watched humanitarian exception is being

Jonathan C. Randai in Paris

DESPITE American efforts to isolate and punish Iran with controversial new trade sanctions,

Tehran's Islamic regime has ex-

panded its influence with two key

Middle East neighbors, diplomats and observers said last week.

Diplomats said the moves appear

to be further indications of Iran's

burgeoning influence throughout the swath of northern Iraq pro-

tected by U.S., British and French

warplanes since the end of the Persian Gulf War.

Necmettin Erbakan, Turkey's

first conservative Islamic prime

ninister, flew to Tehran at the

weekend on his first visit abroad in

gesture calling into question

Ankara's central role in Washing-

"dual-containment"

aimed at ostracizing Iran and Iraq.

His trip comes only days after

President Clinton signed the sanc-

tions law against Iran and Libya. De-

spite the new U.S. law's mandatory

sanctions against companies con-

ducting more than \$40 million

worth of annual business with Iran,

Turkish Energy Minister Recal

Kutan traveled to Tehran last week

to discuss possible major purchases

of Iranian oil and natural gas.



mal life remain. Their removal requires Saddam Hussein to halt his clandestine drive to acquire weapons of mass destruction, to ease repression of dishwored groups in the population and to return stolen Kuwaiti military equipment and account for trwaiti prisoners and MIAs. Such a turn is not in sight.

Saddani Hussein remains a threat to regional peace and stability, and it is depressing to see him still sitting in Baghdad

In a show of strength late last

month, several thousand Iranian

Revolutionary Guards made an in-

cursion deep into the Kurdish-

populated area of northern Iraq, taking advantage of the U.S.-led sys-

tem of air patrols established in

1991 to prevent Iraqi President Sad-

dam Hussein from renewing his re-

pression of 3.5 million Iraqi Kurds.

Diplomats, Iraqi opposition

cadres and regional analysts said

they are convinced Iran's purpose

was to demonstrate its steadily in-

The incursion provided further ev-

idence Iran has replaced the United

States and Turkey as the major

player in northern Iraq, diplomats

said. The trend emerged two years

ago when rival Kurdish factional leaders Massoud Barzani and Jalal

Talabani began a still-unresolved

many as 4,000 Kurds have died.

fratricidal power struggle in which as

Despite its proclaimed interest in

using the Kurdish-populated region

of northern Iraq as a singing area to

topple Saddam, Washington failed

to mediate an end to the Kurdish

drawn into a quagmire.

Barzani's Kurdistan Democratic

Party and Talabani's Patriotic Union | sive actions."

creasing muscle in the region a

wielding power. American differences with Iraq's gulf rival Iran have mooted any attempt to mopilize a local balance of power against him. The Iraqi opposivert or topple his rule. And now a step is being taken that, for all reduces prospects of a popular regime. The United States is left practicing a containment policy that will have to be sustained

ligence operations, according to

dish insurgents of the Kurdish Workers Party, who have camps in

Such is Iran's power in northern

Iraq that diplomats and analysts

believe Tehran can provide what-

ever level of support it chooses to the Kurdish rebels from Turkey.

With the Americans apparently opt

northern Iraq, the Iranians are well

positioned to deny Washington a leading role in working toward Sad-

his eventual succession, according

"iran's message was clear," a

Washington's dual-containment pol-

icy has sprung a serious leak. Sec-

ond, Tehran can influence Turkey.

ground while Clinton talks tough on

sanctions . . . but doesn't take deci-

to diplomats and analysts.

fighting, apparently fearful of being | Third, Iran is creating facts on the

ing out of any active mediation

diplomats and analysts.

Iran Fights Back Against U.S. Sanctions of Kurdistan turned to Tehran. Iran

"It's hard for a jury to look at that stuff and not get angry." Daynard

Kurdish region of Iraq, ranging

Legal 'Milestone' As Smoker Wins Case

John Schwartz

FLORIDA circuit court has given a former smoker a milestone" victory against the tobacco industry.

After two days of deliberations, the Jacksonville jury last week awarded \$750,000 to Grady Carter. 66, a retired air traffic controller who started smoking Lucky Strikes in 1947 and sued the cigarette's maker after losing part of a lung to

The jury found that cigarettes are nreasonably dangerous and that the company, American Tobacco, had not adequately warned consumers about the risks. The Lucky Strike brand is now owned by Brown & Williamson Tobacco Corp.

The industry has never paid ornny in damages in a liability suit volving tobacco. But this is the first case in which potentially damaging internal Brown & Williamson documents — which have recently come a light — were presented to a jury.

Brown & Williamson said it was disappointed" by the verdict and predicted victory on appeal. "The rial was prejudicially tarnished by sible evidence and to hear testimony based on speculation," the company said in a statement. Attorneys for Brown & Williamson argued that smoking was simply one of many risks that Carter had accepted in his life, such as piloting private planes.

Richard Daynard, head of the Tobacco Products Liability Project t Boston's Northeastern University, said that introducing the tobacco industry's own documents was key to the court victory.

One such document, a 1963 memo written by the late Addison Yeaman, then president of Brown & Williamson Tobacco, read, in part, "We are, then, in the business of selling nicotine, an addictive drug." now has a presence throughout the

> The first batch of thousands of pages of purloined Brown & reimbursement for tobacco-related Williamson documents were first Medicaid expenditures.

reported in The New York Times in May 1994. The Journal of the American Medical Association published a report on the documents by University of California at San Francisco researcher Stanton Glantz and colleagues in 1995. However, Patti Stanford, one of

Carter's lawyers, said that the documents might not have been the deciding factor in the case, and that the legal climate has changed.

"It's finally the time that they're going to get called" on their claims, Stanford said. The law firm has "hundreds" of similar cases pending, she added, but not all of them involve Brown & Williamson and so the documents may not b admissible in those cases. The American Medical Association applanded what it called a "milestone"

baceo company been ordered to pay damages to a smoker in a liability case: In 1988, a jury awarder \$400,000 in damages to the family o New Jersey smaker Rose Cipallone That award was later overturned: federal appeals court in Philadel phia ruled in 1990 that a lower court should not have assumed that Cipol one relied on advertisements tout ing Liggett Corp. eigarettes' salety.

Smokers also have won cases against Lorillard Tobacco Co. over cancers they attributed to the "Micronite" lilter, but the Carter and earlier Cipollone cases are the only damage awards for the health effects of tobacco.

Plaintiffs' lawyers have move away from simple product liability cases in recent years because of the difficulty of convincing juries that smokers did not bring their problenis upon themselves. Daynard said. 'These were the cases you were not supposed to be able to win." Instead, lawsuits now tend to focus on the addictiveness of tobacco products. Some eliminate smokers from direct participation is the lawsuit at all; a number of states are suing the industry seeking

The recent incursion into Iraq re sembled Turkey's repeated cross-**Anti-Terror Bill Stalled** border operations in the past four years against bases of Turkish Kur

John F. Harris

T RESIDENT Clinton at the weekend accused Republicans in Congress of being a handmaiden for the "gun lobby" because of their refusal to pass a key provision in his proposed anti-terrorism legislation that is opposed by the National Rifle

Republicans have turned aside Clinton's plan to put chemical markdam's overthrow and influencing ers, called taggants, in black and smokeless powders to allow law enforcement authorities to trace the source of the explosive after a bomb regional diplomat remarked, "First, goes off. The NRA argues that taggants might make powder unstable.

"The Republicans in Congress could give law enforcement this anti-terrorism tool, but once again they're listening to the gun lobby over law enforcement," Clinton said in his weekly radio address.

has tilted strongly toward Republicans, it was opposition from the more liberal end of the political spectrum that has stalled the other central provision of the anti-terrorism legislation. The American Civil Liberties Union is among the forces opposing Clinton's plan for expanding wiretap authority in terrorism cases. The administration's bill calls for

"roving wiretops," allowing police listen in not just on a single line but on all the phones, including cellular phones; used by a suspected terrorist. The law already allows such taps in organized crime cases.

The House passed an antiterrorism bill before leaving for its August recess, but administration officials said it is flaccid without the taggent and wiretapping provisions. The Senate left town without voting.



Sulking Israeli Minister Boycotts His Job

Barton Geliman in Jerusalem

OREIGN Minister Levy, whose four-year feud with Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu receded briefly around election day, is doing again what he does better than any rival in Israeli political life: nursing his wounded dignity and threatening to

The second-ranking figure in Netanyahu's government, Levy boy-cotted the Cabinet meeting last week and maintained an injured silence from his small-town power base of Beit Shean. Through aides in his Gesher Party, which split from Netanyahu's Likud but allied with it for last May's election, he made known that he will quit the post if Netanyahu does not accord him a larger role.

There is no policy or ideological dispute beneath this latest spat, and t cannot threaten Netanyahu's grip on power without stunendous miscalculations by both men. But the drama over Levy's prerogatives and pride has been more than enough to occupy the country's political junkies for several days.

Like many a foreign minister here before him, Levy feels pushed to the margins of his ostensible balliwick. Neither he nor any senior aide accompanied Netanyaliu on his visits to Washington and Amman, and Levy has not even been notified of the secret diplomacy of Dore Gold, a close Netanyahu aide, to several Arab states. When Netanyahu did not bother telling him about secret overtures to Levy's native Morocco, Levy stopped showing up for work and began making rumblings that he would quit.

Much the same tactic has worked often enough for Levy that it could fairly be called the basis of his political career. Resignation threats in re-

Douglas Farsh in Port-au-Prince

RESIDENT Rene Preval hates

L to be late. Unlike virtually everything else in Haiti, Cabinet

meetings and appointments begin precisely on schedule, and he repri-

Associates say the change from

the style of Preval's predecessor and

close triend, Jean-Bertrand Aristide,

stems not just from a healthy dose of

discipline but from Preval's sense

*Preval does not take himself too

seriously, but he is very serious

about what he has to do," an eco-nomic adviser said. "He knows he

has to demonstrate he can deliver

the goods. He knows he has to start

solving the daily problems of people's

Indeed, following Aristide, the

nation's most popular politician, is a

the poorest nation in the Western Hemisphere has no social safety

nct. With an illiteracy rate of more

than 50 percent, Haiti has few

skilled workers. And with virtually

no funds for the nation's crumbling roads, electrical system, telephones

and health care, most people have

little help escaping abject poverty. I day to day.

lives . . . His back is to the wall."

that, for Haiti, time is running out.

mands those who are late.

minister's job under former Premier Yitzhak Shamir, forced Shamir and then Netanyahu to tear up their lists of parliamentary candidates to make room for Levy's political machine, and landed him second billing under Netanyahu over figures far more popular in the Likud party and the public at large.

One reason for Levy's success is grievance resonates with others among Israel's large cohort of Sephardic Jews, whose families come from north Africa and the Middle East and who resent the longstanding dominance of European-stock Jews like Netanyahu in Israeli society. The Sephardi vote is essential to the Likud's electoral

But Levy has often had a stronger hand to play than he seems to have now. Netanyahu managed to bring him on board for the last three months of the spring election cam-paign, and without Levy he might well have lost. But as Israel's first directly elected premier, Netanyahu now depends less on coalition partners than his predecessors did to

Even if Levy does resign and all six Gesher members of parliament leave the governing coalition — a scenario that still looks remote — Netanyahu would still have a bare majority. He could only lose that if additional Levy sympathizers such as Ariel Sharon, who nurses his own grievances against Netanyahu, were willing to bring the governmen down and force new elections. What makes the story irresistible

to Israelis, nevertheless, is the obvious personal loathing between Levy. 58, and Netanyahu, 46, who was the silver-haired foreign minister's deputy in the last Likud government and went on to defeat him as party leader. Their bitter struggle for

Preval, who has little of Aristide's

charisma and popular following, was

expected to do little more than keep

the presidential chair warm until

But in the six months since tak-

ing office, Preval has surprised even

his friends by seeming to thrive on

largely held up by an unruly Parlia-

ment's bickering. Preval has fo-

cused on accomplishing what he can without outside help and on

making the politically unpopular choices that Aristide often avoided.

Although Preval, who served as

Aristide's first prime minister, won

more than 80 percent of the vote in

December 1995, less than 40 percent

of the electorate voted. Once so close

to Aristide that the two were referred

to as "twins," Preval has had to make

many of the difficult moves with no

public support from Aristide.

with surprising decisiveness."

Preval has heeded Leslie Dela-

the job. With crucial foreign aid

Aristide could run again in 2000.



David Levy (left) meeting Yasser Arafat last month. The Israeli foreign minister is demanding a larger role, but there is personal loathing between him and the prime minister PHOTO: HAVANUK LEVISON

by Netanyahu that Levy was blackmailing him, left Levy unwilling to speak to Netanyahu - or even utter his name — for some three years. He used to refer to him in public as

Among Levy's demands at present is that he control the choice of cent years landed him the foreign power, which included false charges | tinians, a job that remains unfilled. | prime minister.

The policies, and Preval's unflag-

ging pragmatism, have come as a

surprise because as prime minister

Preval was viewed by outsiders as

even more outspoken in support of

traditional leftist policies than Aris-

tide, and few expected him to em-

brace a stringent stabilization plan.

He has angered the nation's tiny elite, which has run most busi-

nesses in Haiti as private mono-

polies for generations, by pushing

the privatization law and enforcing

tax collection. Proposed privatization

of nine state companies could open

the economy to competition for the

first time in decades, challenging

the stranglehold of a handful of pow-erful families and business groups.

military coup that ousted Aristide in

September 1991, just seven months

after he took office as the nation's

Most of the elite supported the

Netanyahu gave a tart reply in a televised interview last week.

"I was elected in personal elections in order to promote a certain policy, and at the heart of the policy is the Palestinian issue," he said. "I mean to control it in partnership with the foreign minister, but I chief negotiator with the Pales | mean to lead. There is only one

Haiti's President Doesn't Just Mark Time | he owes no political favors to anyone. For the first time, he is hitting

In an interview last week, Preval showed up on time, wearing a casual shirt and loafers. Aristide was seldom seen in the palace out of a threepiece suit, and his appointments often ran hours behind schedule. Speaking partly in English and

partly through an interpreter, Preval told jokes on himself and sald being president was "boring," because people only apoke to him as the president, "not as Rene. We mostly discuss politics, even my friends talk politics, not about our smilies or children."

Asked what his biggest accomdishment was, Preval said he had remained true to myself." "I clearly see where I want to go,"

Preval said. "I know I can't do everything in five years, so I set myself Preval said his first and most diffirst freely elected president. And most helped pay the Haitian military

mation's most popular pouncian, is a tough act. And it has been made more difficult because Aristide chose not to pay the political costs associated with trying to bring some order out of the chaos.

With 80 percent unemployment,

The state of the chaos increased with the political costs of the police, on relning in the excess flow of cash," said a diplomat who worked closely with both men.

With 80 percent unemployment, worked closely with both men.

The state of the police and the judicial system, and decentralizing the state's power in resulted in the restoration of Aristide.

The state, by simply enforcing the few with substantial increase increased with substantial *Preval, with little support and little to lose, is taking on all those issues enues by more than 30 percent.

*Preval, with little support and little to lose, is taking on all those issues enues by more than 30 percent.

*Preval, with little support and little to lose, is taking on all those issues enues by more than 30 percent.

For 10 years, he noted, these fam-"Every day for six months, Preval liles have been asking for exceptiontour, the central bank president, by refusing to print money and unleash inflation. Instead, he has let the government spend only what it takes in day to day.

a head of state," said Georges Sasuntil their own businesses became more competitive. "In 10 years they have been unable to modernize."

Preval said. "Now, for them, it is adulation. He knows he is weak, but a head of state," said Georges Sasuntil their own businesses became more competitive. "In 10 years they have been unable to modernize."

Preval said. "Now, for them, it is sudden death. has been learning about the role of ally high tariffs on imported goods until their own businesses became

Children Without **A Country**

EDITORIAL

MMIGRANT-BASHING about to reach a new low this week, as Republicans begin to take up platform language that would deny birthright citizenship to the children of illega

constitutionally valid legislation declaring that children born i the United States of parents ille gally present are not automat cally citizens."

This startling and truly mean proposition would dramatically principle of this democracy: No matter where you come from o an American.

There are all sorts of practical reasons for rejecting this

have to assume new responsi bilities for investigating the citi zenship status of new mothers before registering births? Would obtaining a passport require no just a birth certificate, but also s ong-deceased parent's gree

ply to generation after generation

And if discovered, stateles by constitutional amendment, should they be deported — to where? — or should they perhaps imprisoned for the rest of their lives?

We are sure that there are Republicans who have answer for these questions, who could liking and enforce them with on thusiasm. So uncertainty is not a reason for rejecting this platform plank. History is.

Once before, this country denied citizenship to an entire class of native-born Americans,

For well over 128 years, every boundaries of the United States has started out in life as the political equal of every other child born in the country on that

It would be not only destrucor in order to discourage a few desperate pregnant women from sneaking across the border in order that their children be guar-

and urged President Alberto Fujimori to address immediately the plight of hundreds of people who may have been wrongly convicted.

The report by Human Rights just a week after the U.N. Human Rights Committee issued Its own rebuke - is one of the most broadly

The proposal seeks either "a constitutional amendment or

change not only the constitu-tional promise of the 14th Amendment, but also a bedrock who your parents are, if you are born on this soil, you are forever

change. Would hospitals, for example

Would the disqualification ap of children because the first immigrant didn't have his papers in order? Would they be eligible for naturalization even though their parents remained in illega

whose ancestors had come from Africa not with visas but liste on bills of sale. A great war was fought over their status in this society, and it was resolved in favor of citizenship and ful

tive, but also incredibly vindic-tive to take that gift from some

Rights Group Assails Peru's Anti-Terror Laws Human rights leaders here credit the international campaign of conprocess and punish members of two demnation - which has involved

the U.S. State Department, the Roman Catholic Church and the European Union among many governments and groups — with forcing Fujimori to ease his hard-line stance. Over the last two months, i a marked departure from his prior position, the president has acknowledged that some people have been unjustly detained and sentenced, and he proposed what he calls "a process of rectification."

At Issue are repressive counterterrorist measures that created a se-

olutionary guerrilla groups responsible for a wave of bombings and assassinations that began i 1980 - Shining Path and the Tupac Amaru Revolutionary Movemen But with its reliance on "faceless judges, military tribunals and re strictions on due process - includ ing alleged torture - the system nos been the target of continuous criticism by human rights groups both here and abroad.

The principal mitigating measure proposed by Fujimori is creation of a

vestigate and perhaps pardon "the Peruvians said to have been wrongly imprisoned are known here. The commission proposal is one of several made by the government recently; another calls for appointment of a human rights ombuds:

effect on the anti-terrorist tribunals, which will continue to operatc. And even those who might be pardoned by the panel would still be considered guilty under Peruvian law. "It resolves the problem of their freedom but not the root of the probsaid Francisco Soberon, of Peru's Pro-Human Rights Association.

But like other human rights workers. Soberon said that perhaps the biggest advance on the issue has been Fuilmori's acknowledgment that a problem exists. Their hope now is that the government will adopt some of the recommendations in the Human Rights Watch

Called "Presumption of Guilt: Human Rights Violations and the Faceless Courts in Peru," the report calls for a review of more than 5,000 cases, abolition of military courts and a restoration of a defendant's basic rights - including the right of the defense to cross-examine prose

Israelis Lose Zeal for Army Duty

want to serve, I want to be a fighter.'

Now it has shifted radically, and I

see it as a symbol of many impor-

The Israel Defense Force has

long been regarded as one of the

country's bedrock institutions.

Every Jewish male was required to

serve three years following high

school graduation and then put in 30

years of annual reserve duty, while

The army gained a reputation for

most women served two-year stints.

excellence in four successive Arab-

Israeli wars, and it provided a melt-

ing pot for Israel's varied ethnic

groups and cultures, offering educa-

tion in the Hebrew language and

Military service became an es-

But the army's image has suf-

grew out of the army's suppression

the Palestinian uprising against

sraeli occupation in the West Bank

and Gaza Strip in the late 1980s.

"it's true that over the past 20

ears the army's poor performance

nas eaten at its status and position.

Israeli lustorian Benny Morris said.

But it has also suffered from the

general movement of the country

away from ideology over the past decade. Each person wants his own

big villa and car. What's important is what's good for the individual, not

It is a complex picture. High

school boys still sign up for strenu-

ous preparatory courses to compete

for hard-to-get slots in elite combat

units the same way some students in

the United States compete for admis-

sion to ly League colleges. The

army says it still gets eight applicants

for every opening in its elite units.

cite patriotism and service to the

At the same time, Israeli society

has reduced its reliance on the army. Defense spending has steadily de-

clined as a percentage of the gross

national product over the past two

decades, and more deep cuts are on

the way in the budget proposed by Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu's government. Like many businesses, the army has alimmed down.

These reverses stripped the army of

criticism it once enjoyed.

for the collective,"

sential rite of passage.

tant changes in this society."

Glenn Frankei in Israelioccupied southern Lebanon

GUARDIAN WEEKLY

Qabriel Escobar in Lima

A N INTERNATIONAL human rights group condemned Peru's

documented denunciations of many

simed at the anti-terrorist legislation

since its inception four years ago.

IME PASSES slowly for soldiers in a military observa-L tion post high atop the portion of southern Lebanon that Israel has occupied since 1982 as a protective "security zone." They spend their days and nights pecring through high-powered telescopic lenses at the valley below, looking for signs of hostile Hezbollah guerrillas on the move, alternating tedious duty with snatches of sleep in gray bunkhouses of corrugated sheet metal that bake in summer and freeze in winter.

These soldiers are proud members of the 50th Nahal Battalion, one of Israel's elite combat units. They are among the best-trained, bestequipped and most highly motivated of Israel's young warriors. "We know why we are here," said Chai, 21, a sergeant from southern Israel. We protect the northern settlements of our country. If we weren't here, they would be in danger."

Still, even in this last outpost in the last Arab-Israeli war, soldiers these days are expressing doubts — not about their mission, but about their future and about the army's place in a changing society. They read headlines about defense budget cuts and talk to friends and relatives back home, and they say they can see that their military service is no longer appreciated quite the way it once was, that it no longer is their ticket to success in the civilian world.

"I see no real benefit for me," said Barak, 21, who hopes to become a photographer when he finishes his service in three months. He and other soldiers here were interviewed under army ground rules that do not allow use of their full names. "When you go for a job interview, it makes no difference where you served. Today the army is just outine. Nobody cares about it."

That is a bit of an exaggeration; military service remains a source of pride and social cachet for many Israelis. But as the young men of the 50th Battalion are finding out, Israel's But fewer young people in surveys citizen army is losing its unique place as the central unifying force of this evolving society. Like other governmental institutions, the army has found it is not immune from the country's gradual transformation from a socialistic garrison state under siege to a more open, bourgeois and consumer-oriented society in which individualism is celebrated

rather than treated with suspicion.
There's been a big shift in attitudes among the young," said nesses, the army has slimmed down, Itamar Lurie, a Hebrew University putting less emphasis on maintainpsychologist who for six years has ing a large force and more on expensurveyed Jerusalem high school sive, high-fech weaponry. Reserve would not be willing to pay the price."

socially desirable response was, 'I soldiers. There is even talk of what was once the ultimate heresy; turning the army into an all-professional fighting force.

Already, many do not serve. Nearly 18 percent of eligible males are exempted, largely for religious, physical or psychological reasons or ecause they do not meet minimum standards. According to unofficial estimates, another 15 percent of concripts drop out along the way which means that all told, nearly onethird of Israeli males do not complote their three years of service.

One sign of the times is the career of Aviv Geffen, Israel's most nonular rock star, who boasts onstage about his avoidance of mili-Jewish culture for those who lacked tary service. In the past, such blatant draft-dodging would have been a black mark, but Geffen's

fered many blows - from the trau-Even in parliament, army service matic 1973 Arab-Israeli War, in is no longer a prerequisite for socwhich Egyptian and Syrian forces cess. Due to the large contingent of launched a surprise attack, to the new immigrants who came as adults abortive 1982 invasion of Lebanon, and of ultra-Orthodox Jews who can to the searing divisiveness of that exempt themselves from conscription, by one estimate as many as one-third of the new parliament's members have either done minimal military duty or not served at all.

> 20-YEAR-OLD Jerusalem man who insisted on anonymity toki of how he was able to drop out of the army after just 13 months of service. He said he was astonished to find that a quick trip to the army psychologist. where he complained that he was bored and depressed, got him a psychological discharge. He had started out in a combat

unit learning to dismantle mines and other explosives — work that was rigorous and challenging. But after he was transferred to a medical unit. he said, he found the work tedious. Corruption and overstaffing were rife, he said; five people worked in an office where one would have sufficed. Some reported for work only one or two days a week, "It was so demoralizing on the other," he recommunity as their motivation, while more talk about individual goals.

In the past, such a

In the past, such a young man would have been encouraged by family and friends to stick it out. But he said he saw no lasting stigma for having dropped out and, unless he wants a government security job, no

But psychologist Luric says the real test of the new generation will come if the Netanyahu government finds itself in a military confrontation with one of its Arab neighbors. "My

Simply the best health insurance money can buy



Over the years International Health Insurance danmark a/s has incorporated all the elements demanded by people who, when it comes to matters of health, need the ultimate protection By listening to our clients, and

closely monitoring all their health needs when they're away from home, we are able to respond with plans to suit each and every individual. Get more information about the most important card in your and your family's life - fill out the coupon today and discover how the world's best health insurance can help you to face the future with confidence.

The card that gives credit to your health

ianmark a/s is owned by "Sygeforstleringen danmari Denmark's largest nationa ith insurance comprany sationalities in more than 150



Address				,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,,	
Postal Code			Clty	,	
Country					
Tel					
Nationality	, 101-111-11-1				
International F	lealth Inst	rance d	lanmark a		



Tales Cut Short

Gregory Feeley

THE ISLAND OF THE MAPMAKER'S WIFE & OTHER TALES By Marilyn Sides Harmony, 277 pp. \$23

LAST DAYS OF THE DOG-MEN By Brad Watson Norton. 144 pp. \$19

HORT STORIES are read (and finally judged) as indi-vidual works, but they come in collections, which possess - if only transiently — their own identi-ties. We still read Hemingway's and Faulkner's stories, but the volumes that the authors assembled - Winner Take Nothing, say, or Doctor Martino - are forgotten, however carefully they were arranged for balance, order of presentation or thematic unity. Yet these considerations were crucial ones when the stories first appeared. A fiction writer may range over numerous subjects and styles, but his story collection - especially the first one - must present a recognizable unity to readers, who are likelier to be intrigued by a distinctive voice than by the promise of variety. Recent successful collections - Mark Richard's The Ice At The Bottom Of The World, Deborah Eisenberg's Transactions In A Foreign Curreacy, Robert Shacochis's Easy In The Islands — all have distinct identities and probably would have failed without them.

Such coherence may be a support or a straitiacket, which neither reader nor author is likely to know at the time, Both Marilyn Sides's The Island Of The Mapmaker's Wife and Brad Watson's Last Days Of The Dog-Men have concelts that pull the stories closer together, like kids in a family photo. The photo may have been taken to affirm the family bond, but the unsentimental reader may note that some of the kids look more interesting than oth-

The characters in Sides's stories are united in their passion for arcane collections: maps, beads, kites, Mayan pottery. Her stories, dense with learning and charged with curiosity, ably convey the intellectual excitement of mapmaking or archaeology and have moreover a kind of ontological fixity: They are engagedly, knottily about some thing in a way that short stories are not generally asked to be.

In the title story, the map dealer's trip to Amsterdam to pursue a set of exceptional maps culminates in a description of a superlative work by the 17th-century map illuminator Margarethe Blaeu. The map contains an imaginary island off Venezuela that the artist has added by hand: Studied closely, it proves to be a cunning piece of trompe l'acit, with the island's contours forming the silhouette of an embracing couple. It is a lovely conceit, perhaps the best thing in the book, and the fact that Sides is less sucthe map dealer's interest in the but fails finally to resonate: We unmap's disheveled owner does not

detract from its charm. Sides is, in fact, weaker in her formal construction than in depicting the excitement of her characters' vocations. She sometimes employs dublous tricks, such as withholding her protagonist's name or (as with the map dealer, Descutes) being erary polish can be learned. If nelheavy-handed in its formulation. In | ther writer can yet be called fully three of the four short stories. Sides | accomplished, I would nonetheless

burst of figurative language — of smoke and mirrors, really — that leaves the reader uncertain as to what has actually happened. "The Master of the Pink Glyphs,"

is a short novel about a bereaved woman who joins an architectural dig in Guatemala and finds selffulfillment in becoming a skilled drawer of Maya pottery. It attempts, rather daringly, to combine literary showmanship with architectura verisimilitude, with mixed results The early series of letters between the lovers forces Sides into a rather strained exercise in virtuosity in creating a new pet name for every salutation and signature, since she wishes not to disclose either character's first name. The author is perhaps too much on her protagonist's side — her ingenuousness and dedication are rather glibly contrasted with the smug knowingness of others - and her apiritual regeneration consequently partakes somewhat of the quality of a fairy tale.

Brad Watson's Last Days Of The Dog-Men offers a much narrower aperture: His stories focus on the relations between people and their dogs -- hunting dogs, beloved pets, a troublesome stray. Such a high concept sounds like the premise for comedy, and indeed several of Watson's stories are either droll or hilarious. In the title story, after the protagonist's wife discovers his affair, he goes to ground in an especially seedy bachelor household: "The farmhouse is a wreck floating on the edge of a big untended pasture where the only activities are the occasional squadron of flaring birds dropping from sight into the tall grass, and the creation of random geometric paths the nose-down

HERE, dogs are used as a gauge of humans' superiority to nature, not necessarily accurately. One of the protagonist's housemates discourses on the qualities that can make a dog "no better than a dog" and not fit to come indoors, but the protagonist yearns for the "order and clarity" of a dog's life. "Humans are aware of very little, it seems to me, the artificial brainy side of life, the worries and bills and the mechanisms of jobs. the doltish psychologies we've placed over our lives like a stencil. A dog keeps his life simple and unadorned. He is who he is, and his

logs make tracking the birds."

only task is to assert this." None of the other stories works quite so well as this one. In "The Wake" the protagonist must deal with a stray dog that died under his house and is beginning to decay. His problems are compounded when he takes receipt of a crate that proves to contain his estranged wife, who sent herself by UPS from New Orleans in order to have a serious talk. She remains in the box. however, and offers criticisms of him from within as he attempts to entertain dinner guests. This lowderstand that a parallel is being drawn between the wife and the dog but are not sure what to make of it.

Brad Watson's stories are notable for their verbal energy, Marilyn Sides's stories for their curiosity and engagement with the world. Energy and curiosity are crucial virtues; litrings down a conclusion with a read more stories by either of them. | IRA should disarm.



When East Meets Mideast

personal emotions and acts that are

the concern of his fiction. His India,

however, is where my problem as a

The story of the novel is simple

enough. Benjamin ("Benjy") Rubin,

a bright young doctor at a modern private hospital in Tel Aviv, learns at

the start of the book that he will not

be selected for the surgeon's posi

tion he had hoped for. He is instead

offered a trip to India with the hospi-

tal's administrative director. Lazar

and his wife. Dori, who wish him to

help them bring their dangerously

ill daughter, Einat, back to Israel. In

the course of the trip, the young

doctor observes the suffocating in

tensity of the dependence and affec-

tion that bind the older couple to

each other. He then falls impossibly

in love with the "overweight, mid

On their return to Israel with the

now restored Einat, Benjy pursues

his passion by renting an apartment

from Dori. Almost to protect his il-

licit love, he marries Michaela, an

intense young woman who had

befriended Einat in India, As the

novel unfolds over the next two years, Yehoshua candidly explores

each of Benjy's relationships — with

dle-aged" Dori.

Shaahi Tharoor By A. B. Yehoshua Translated from the Hebrew by Daiya Blu

Doubleday, 498 pp. \$24.95

OPEN HEART is the latest novel of the distinguished Israeli writer A.B. Yehoshua, who has won every conceivable literary award in his homeland. In its nearly 500 pages Open Heart provides ample vidence of Yehoshua's command of his metier: The novel flows powerfully in fluent, confident, yet simple prose: it has a compelling story line and vividly drawn characters; and it is infused with a big and serious theme, the nature of love and the mysteries of the human soul.

It is also a novel about two countries, Israel and India — an Israel no foreigner would recognize and an India only a foreigner would recognize. Yehoshua's Israel is a hund without terrorism, where no one encounters a Palestinian or discusses polities, and where for 500 pages there is not even a whisper of the existential few that outsiders imaginc to be an inescapable part of the daily reality. This is fine: It helps the author focus on the intensely

with Michaela and their daughter Shiva, whose name is simultane ously that of the Hindu god of de struction and the Hebrew word for return," and with his parents and colleagues. Yehoshua is a writer with a re-

But it is hard to accept the authorial confusion that has the Buddhis Michaela declare that "there's no such thing as a soul" and then be enthralled when her husband claims to be possessed by another's ("an ethereal idea from the India she so adored and longed for").

There comes the question of the problem is that Yehoshua's accomplishment as a psychological noveldespoliation of the integrity of a foreign culture. There is a crucial blood transfusion early in the novel metaphor — for Ychoshua seems to India to serve his fictional purposes in a procedure that is burtful to the donor and arguably unnecessary for process, the emotional structures are, for me, fatally undermined.

troubled by this will find greater Lazar, whose patronage he needs satisfaction in what is, despite and whose wife he loves; with Dori, flaw, a considerable work of art. satisfaction in what is, despite this

narkable command of the emotional and practical details of which life is made, and under his omniscient gaze each character, each relationship is both delicately and deeply etched. Open Heart is an astonishing work about love in all its

seeks to be. With India as its platform and backdrop, the novel also seeks to explore the nature of the human soul; its characters are constantly debating whether souls exist and whether they can migrate into other bodies, a possibility for which death is apparently not always a

eviewer's subjectivity: Would this matter to a non-Indian reader? My st is diminished in my eyes by his which provides for me a damning have drawn just enough blood from the recipient. In this exploitative and imaginative impact of the novel

I can only hope that others less

Too much democracy can be bad for you

Richard Thomas

HEN East Germans tore down the Berlin Wall in 1989, a new global truth seemed to have been established: democracy and economic prosperity are two sides of the same coin.

Sure, the demonstrators who washed away the communist regimes of eastern Europe wanted democracy. But they wanted it, at least in part, because they hoped Big Macs, denim and Nike trainers would follow in its wake. The world's most successful economies were also democracies.

But this year, virtually unnoticed. nations west of the old wall have been ditching this apparently cast-iron rule. Last week, "lean-luc Dehaene, the Belgian prime minister, assumed executive power to raise taxes, cut benefits and set wage levels without prior consultation.

The reason for the entergency measures is that Belgium is way outside the Maastricht criteria for joining a single currency — and desperately wants to be in the club. Even those who warned that the European Monetary Union project would erode national democratic rights cannot have imagined such an early reverse.

Last spring, the italians - who also want to be in the European core - held elections in which the proportional element was diluted. The resulting Olive Tree Alliance is enforcing collective cabinet responsibility for the first time in living memory. Last week saw monthly inflation fall for the first time in 25 years.

A new truth is emerging: too much democracy makes for bad

economics. Politicians and economists are reluctant to come clean about this. In the Western political lexicon, motherhood and apple pie rank way below democracy.

But there is mounting evidence that political freedoms do, at some point, compromise economic progress. In an article for the new Journal of Economic Growth*. Harvard economist Robert Barro concludes that economic growth rates are negatively associated, albeit veakly, with greater democracy.

Surveying 100 countries between 1960 and 1990, he shows that while economic freedoms - free markets, rule of law, strong property rights and limited corruption — are powerful determinants of growth rates, political freedoms appear to have the opposite effect. Although some democracy is better than none, lots of democracy — more requent votes, at more levels, on nore issues — is worse than some.

There are two reasons why this is so, First, voters want to feel good now, not tomorrow. Even if at some level we know a recession is necessary, we would rather put it off. And because politicians know this, the economy is run in line with our short-term, greedy wishes. This is the argument that under-

pins calls for independent central banks. Because politicians will be under pressure to deliver short-run growth, they neglect inflation and rising inflation puts the brakes on longer-term expansion.

Of course, those who want to take monetary policy out of the hands of elected politicians never dare to frame their arguments like this. Professor William Keech, whose



atest book** was a procursor to Mr. Barro's research, supports indepen-dence for central banks. He denies his stance is undemocratic Democracy covers a wide constel-Intion of forms, in which electorates play a menningful role," he says.

This is hokum. Democracy does take many forms, But the starting point of any definition is the capacity of a universal electorate to throw out those they believe to have fouled up. We can do this to politicians who decide monetary policy. We can't do it to unelected central bankers, independent central banks are less democratic. QED.

The real point that proponents of entral bank independence make is that the loss of some democracy is worth it, because of the improve ment in economic prospects.

There is no shame in making this hoice, so long as it is clear and not efuldled by arguments about different shapes of democracy. People can choose to give up some of their lemocratic power in exchange for something else. The Bundesbank, probably the least accountable central bank in the world, is whole heartedly supported by a population among whom the scars of pre-war hyper-inflation still run deep.

Too much democracy votes to mess things up. But there is another reason why Mr Barro found a perverse relationship between democracy and growth: purer forms of democracy allow politicians mess things up. Countries with constitutional structures that disperse power between legislatures, between central, local and regional government, and between parties have a poor economic record, the research by Mr Barro and Prof Keech suggests. Hence Italy's retreat from pure proportionality, and Belgium's U-turn.

Tough, unpopular decisions are harder to make when the support of a number of players is needed. As Prof Keech says: "It is impossible, by definition, for lots of people to bite a bullet at the same time."

By contrast, the "Westminster" style of democracy - with first-pastthe-post elections and strong central executive control, seems to be associated with a better long-run economic performance. One reason the UK probably doesn't need an independent central bank is that it is a less demogratic country in the first place the insulation is built into the system.

The implications for British polities are painfully clear. There is an empirically proven trade-off between democracy and prosperity in ndustrialised countries. And, given the choice, most voters would almost certainly go for faster growth, not a bit more democracy.

Tony Blair has already watered down some of Labour's plans for devolution - and looks to be cooling on PR. If he is serious about shifting the economy on to a highskill, high-investment path, this is a good sign. He will have to keep the levers of power within his own reach — even if that goes against his democratic instincts. Labour is into tough choices: here is a beauty.

Kluwer Academic Publishers, 101 Philip Drive, MA 01061, US. Economic Politics, CUP.

Finding a Way Towards Peace in Belfast

THE TROUBLES Ireland's Ordeal 1966-1996 and The Search for Peace By Tim Pat Coogan Roberts Rinehart, 472 op. \$29.95

TT IS difficult, in the middle of the Lirish Republican Army's beinous bombing campaign and the thuggery of the Protestant Orange Order in Catholic neighborhoods, to look back with dispassion at the slow, tortuous road to an Irish cease-fire and its failure. The silencing of the guns created a rare moment in Irish history when reconciliation might have rooted in the stony ground of sectarian hatred. The period ended in February when an IRA bomb at Canary Wharf in London all but devastated the fragaffect venture into Frederick lie - and in Ireland always treach-

However difficult, though, an accounting of rank political failures during the 17-month cease-fire is necessary. In Tim Pat Coogan's account, the primary political failure lies with the British government. Writing with a clear nationalist perspective, Coogan, a leading Irish journalist und historian, despairs of the British failure to move quickly to all-party talks, which foundered on the issue of when and how the

Neither the British government nor the Protestant Unionist community can be expected to negotiate with an IRA that will not disarm until there has been an end to negotiations. Similarly, the IRA cannot be expected to immediately disarm in advance of any negotiations because this can only be read as surrender. Between those two positions, the British government did not establish a middle ground.

In the end, elements within the IRA saw only sophistry and retreated from the path that the leadership of its political wing, Sinn Feln, was trying to clear. Whether the British government, given the bombings, can surmount its understandable loathing for the IRA, even if there is another cease-fire, is unknowable. And The Troubles, most of which was written before the first | early 1996, remains optimistic, perbomb exploded, ends just as these | haps unduly so given recent events uestions become critical

Much of Coogan's book, unfortunately, is taken up with recounting the long history of the conflict, a story already well-told elsewhere, and without the tone of nationalist grievance too evident here.

Still, when he finally gets around to it. Coogan provides a worthy ac determined British effort to include count of the guarded, nuanced evo- | Sinn Fein in talks and outlast the lution in Sinn Fein's thinking, away probable obduracy of loyalists from its blind belief that Britain, not the Unionist community, was the obstacle to a United Ireland and to-

structures may evolve from negotiations that fall short of the old dream Whether the Unionist communit

can believe that the peace process is not a Trojan Horse and accept something other than an internal solution remains an untested proposinegotiations. And there is no sense in Coogan's book how far Unionists might travel to new structures. short of a United Ireland.

That, in fact, is the great weak ness in Coogan's book. He has little or no sympathy for Unionist sensitivities or fears. His sources do almost nothing to help him develop a sense of their thinking behind the predictable public posturing. Coogan, writing an epilogue

He says the logiam can be broke only by President Clinton. But the logjam, while not entirely of its creation, is the IRA's to break, by restoring the cease-fire and committing to a reasonable disarmament: process. Such a move will have to be followed, quickly this time, by a Maybe then, in the words of the

Buying back is no investment

Heather Connon

looks at how a sign of management failure has become a symbol of corporate virility in the short-sighted City

ORGET mega-takeovers, trophy headquarters or fleets of jets; the latest symbol of corporate virility is the share buy-back. It has become the vogue for companies to shrink capital bases rather than expand corporate empires.

Already this year more than \$3.4 billion worth of shares has been bought back by companies ranging from RJB Mining to NatWest, which recently chipped in with \$699 milhon. That is already more than the \$3 billion total in 1995 and Kleinwort Benson estimates buy-backs for the | - in 1995 more than \$775 million on ture industries such as banking, financial services and retailing start to throw off surplus cash.

The City loves it. What was once dismissed as a sign of management failure is now celebrated as a symbol of great success, and any company whose balance sheet even hints at surplus cash is urged to join the trend. Companies extol earnings per share, dividend potential and cost of capital. Investors - many of whom | too polite to say so directly, but he can reclaim a tax credit on the shares they sell, boosting their proceeds by disaster, where a \$1.4 billion rights bust history of the British economy, it could take at least five years before

their own shares, at least they are investing in something they should know a bit about," said David Rough, investment director of Legal

But what about the effect on corporate Britain? Handing cash back to shareholders does nothing to improve the economy. Surely it would be better to invest in building for the future — and, given Britain's rather poor record of investment, any additional funds would be gratefully received. Companies that buy back their shares insist they are investing, too, it's just there are not enough projects available with the required rate of return.

The best example of that is Reuters, which started the buy-out trend with a \$544 million repurchase in 1993 and is considering a similar move this year. It is spending heavily increase its cash balances by more | lowering prices, rather than for than \$465 million, to \$1.3 billion.

Barclays, one of the leading proponents of buy-backs, was expected to do its third following interim results last week. But it has a slightly different reason. Chief executive Martin Taylor is determined that the bank be disciplined in its use of capital. Even the blunt Mr Taylor is

"If companies are buying back | erty lending, leading to a \$375 mil-

That is a graphic example of one of the problems with capital investment: companies are not very good at it, Legal & General's Mr Rough blames management for setting too-high targets. "Companies aim for 25 or 30 per cent returns, then identify four projects which can achieve that. In fact, if they are lucky one achieves 20 per cent and the others fail, so the overall return is something like 9 per cent. But if they set a more reasonable rate of return, say 12 or 13 per cent, they could choose more projects which would be more likely to succeed. The overall return to the business could be

that much greater." Paul Temple of the London Business School, who is carrying out work on competitiveness with his Warwick colleague Simon Peck, says too much of Britain's investtechnological edge or long-term benefit from investment than coun-

tries such as Japan and the US. Why companies set themselves such high investment hurdles is not that projects have failed so often managements feel they have to That adds compensate. As likely, however, is wants to avoid a repeat of the 1980s | that it is a reaction to the boom-toa quarter - rub their hands in glee. I issue in 1988 was splurged on prop- exacerbated by the short-term na- it starts to produce any return."

ture of most directors' remuneration contracts.

Certainly there is little sign companies are reducing their target rates of return to take account of the more stable growth and lower inflation both the Government and the Opposition say will continue. That is partly because managers have long memories; they need more than a few years of stability to be persuaded that British policy-makers have changed their spots. Real interest rates, adjusted for inflation,

remain alarmingly high. Even so-called long-term incentive plans can cover only a three year period and will be geared to increases in earnings and share prices - both of which are far more easily influenced by short-term

Professor Peter Moizer of Leeds Jaiversity business school says his research shows the only thing companies cling to consistently is their dividend payments. He found that companies, and institutional investors believe they are being asquisitions - though it managed to ment is aimed at cutting costs and sessed mainly for short-term results. Fund managers' investment performance is monitored quarbenefits. That means it gets far less | terly, and they tend to prefer companies that produce consistent results.

Company managements are judged by daily share-price movements, or half-yearly profits perforclear, Mr Rough believes it may be mance, giving them a disincentive

"That adds to the attraction of acquisitions," said Mr Moizer. "If you have to set up a factory somewhere,

Acquisitions, on the other hand, give instant results. Cost-cutting from integrating head offices, closing factories and shedding employees are quickly translated into higher profits, so who cares about strategic fit and long-term growth?

Take last week's \$206 million pur chase of the Pelican restaurant chain by Whitbread. Pelican's founders, with far less financial muscle than Whitbread, managed to assemble 100 restaurants from a standing start just over six years ago. Instead of building a chain itself, Whitbread opted to buy Pelican, paying \$155 million more than Pelican has invested in the assets. - The Observer

FOREIGN EXCHANGES

	August 52.	August 6
reile.	1.9964-1.9979	1.9959-1.9984
da	18.10-18.11	18.10-18.13
um	47.18-47.25	47.18-47.25
ndn .	2.1270-2.1291	2.1224-2.125
mark	8.85-9.86	8 84 - 8 86
08	7.83-7.83	7 77-7.79
nany .	2.2883-2.2907	2.2888-2.291
g Kong	12.00-12.01	11.93-11.04
nel	0.9614-0.9627	0.9588-0.960
	2,350-2,353	2,339-2,343
N)	166,84-167.05	164.52-164.7
norlands	2 5680-2 6708	2.5873-2.570
Zesland	2.2589-2.2626	2.2578-2.261
Way	9.01-9.93	9.88-9.90
lugal '	235,38-235,70	234.06-235.0
in	194.96-195.26	194,37-194,0
eden :	10.31-10.33	10.19-10.2
taerend	1.8608-1.8833	1.8556-1.85
A	1,5514+1,6524	1.5438-1.64
IJ,	1.2201-1.2214	I NA-NA

FT98194 Where Index up 16.0 of 2003.2. F796 98 Index up 45.5 at 4331.5. Oats down \$5.50 at \$367.50.

TEFL Certificate 5 Diploma Courses

ESP (Business) courses also available.

The English Language Ctr, Standbrook Hs, Suite Sc, 2-5 Old Bond Street, London WIX 5TB

l he Guardian

Lectureships in Political Studies

The Department of Political Studies has 16 academic staff plus a further 17 tutors, 2 secretaries and 2 research assistants. The Department offers a wide range of courses for the three-year 8A degree including first year courses in New Zealand politics, political philosophy, international relations and comparative politics. Options are more specialised at advanced levels. Postgraduate teaching includes the MA, which is taken over two years and includes papers and an optional tress. There are at present fifteen students doing MA theses and twenty-three PhD students. The Department also has an extensive

Applications are invited for two vacant Lectureships.

Lectureship in Political Communications/Media Politics

Vacancy UAC.765

Applicants should have a PhD or equivalent, published work and preferably some experience of university teaching. Thoy should have as an academic specialty media politics/political communication and be able to demonstrate methodological skills suitable for research into the impact of the mass media. Preference will be given to candidates with an interdisciplinary focus and with quantitative methodological ckills for and interest in research at the intersection of the mass media, the mass public and political policy-making.

Lectureship in Japanese Politics & International

Vacancy UAC.767

Applicants should have a PhD and experience in teaching at all levels in a University setting. They should have as academic specialities the government, politics and political acoromy of Japan and either International Relations or Global Political Economy or International Security.

Commencing salary per annum will be NZ\$42,500 - NZ\$51,500.

Conditions & Procedures for All Vacancies

Further information and Conditions of Appointment should be obtained from the Appointment Department, Association of Commonwealth Universities, 36 Gordon Square, London WC1H OPF (tel. 0171 387 8572 ext. 206; fax 0171 813 3055; email: apprentment@cu.ac.uk); or from the Academic Appointments Office, University of Auckland, Private Bag 92019, Auckland, New Zeeland (tel. [64 9] 373 7599 Extn. 6790; fax [64 9] 373 7023; Email: appointments@auckland.ec.rz), Information may also be found on http://www.auckland.ac.nz/pol/dapt.htm. Three copies of applications must reach the Registrar

Please quote Vacancy Number in all correspondence

W B NICOLL, REGISTRAR



The University has an equal opportunities policy and welcomes applications from all qualified persons

HelpAge International is a network of over 40 nongovernment organisations working with disadvantaged older people world-wide. As Mozambique enters its fourth year of peace, the HAI Tete Reseltiement Programme In Tate Province, Northern Mozambique has Programme moved into a Community Development phase. We now seek a Programme Co-ordinator for this project.

Applicants should have an understanding of development Issues and the current economic situation in Mozambique and at least 2 years' experience in community development and income generation £14,843p.a. programmes. A background in management, administration and budgetting is necessary, and fluency In written English is essential A working knowledge of Portugese and a local language such as Nhungue or Shona would be advantageous.

This is a one year contract which can be renewed. For an Information pack and details of how to apply please telephone Myviet Chu on +44 171 253 0253 or tax her your CV on +44 171 253 0396. Closing date: 9th September 1996.

Community **Development** Co-ordinator

Mozambiaue

HelpAge

INTERNATIONAL

TEFL DIPLOMA

Study TEFL, ESL or TESOL by Distance Learning All materials, cassettes etc incl. FROM 6240 all nationals, any residence World Also: ESP Business English (TEACH Business, Sales or Technical staff). Cert.TEFL (Managoment) for skilled EFL staff. Prospectur from: ILC, 12 Rudand Square, Edinburgh, EH1 2BB Tel/Fax 01259 720440 (UK)

E-mail: 100665.506@compuserve.co

FAIRFAX UNIVERSITY (USA

UNIVERSITY (USA) ini Home Study degree programs Credits for prior learning/e-gorien BA, MBA, PhD etc programs in most subjects
Entry any time
Prospectus from UK representative office
BES Offices (QUW), P.O. Sox 400
Paterborough PES 600 U.K.
Tole/Fax: +44 (0) 1733 239923

THE PARTY OF THE P MONGO PARKISTANTE GAMBODIA.

Teaching THEL as a VSO volunteer is a once-in-a-lifetime experience - at any time in life.We need teachers with either:

• a TEFL qualification with over 4 years' good classroom experience or • a BA degree, TEFL qualification, and over 6 months' experience. Current opportunities include:

VIEINAME

Requests for volunteers to work in provincial Teachers Colleges with under-graduate trainee teachers and fellow teaching staff to upgrade communicative language skills, develop methodology and EFL materials. BA. TEPL & one year's experience.

LAOS

Various requests to teach English at vocational colleges and to local officials. Range of experience required.

INDONESTA

TEFL teachers, with a minimum of one year's experience, needed to teach methodology and lecture in EFL at tertiary

NEPAL

English Language Resource Centre Coordinators required in rural Nepal; experience of curriculum and materials development an advantage. Two years' teaching experience essential.

We also have requests for TEFL teachers in Mongolia, Pakistan and Cambodia, as well as secondary level English teachers and teacher trainers to work in over 20 countries.

As well as the appropriate qualifications and experience, it is also essential to have the right personal qualities. These include cultural sensitivity, commitment- and a sense of humour. You should also be aged between 20-70 without dependants, able to spend up to two years overseas working for a modest living allowance, and have unrestricted right of re-entry into the UK.

APPLY NOW FOR EARLY 1997 DEPARTURE. Please note: you may be required to attend interview and training at your own expense.

For further details and an application form, please send a brief summary of your qualifications and work experience - quoting ref GW - to: Atha Murphy, VSO Enquiries Unit, 317 Putney Bridge Road, London SW15 2PN. Or call 0181-780 1331. Internet Address: http://www.oneworld.org/vso/



VSO enables men and women to work alongside people in poore countries in order to share skills, build capabilities and promote international understanding and action, in the pursuit of a more equitable world-

Charity no. 313757



Programme Coordinator Based in Cubal, Angola Salary: £14,870 p.a

good written and communication skills in

English and Portuguese or Spanish is

UK non-taxable + allowance of £5,386 p.a. + accommodation Contract: 1 year (possibly renewable for 1 year) fluent spoken Portuguese or Spanish and

Oxfam is seeking a Programme Coordinator to lead a multi-disciplinary and multi-cultural team in the development and implementation of its programme. improving the basic health conditions of people living in and around Cubal and country programme strategy development. Key competencies required: • experience in the development and management of integrated rehabilitation programmes • high level personnel and financial management skills • experience of working in emergency situations and emergency programme response · ability to work under pressure and in a situation which is insecure .

essential • commitment to Oxfam's overall alms and beliefs including gender equity in all aspects of Oxfam's work. Accompanied (partner only). Comprehens benefits package including life and medical insurance, end of contract settlements. For further datalts please send a SAE ter International Human Resources, Oxfam, 274 Banbury Road, Oxford OX2 7D2. Please quote raf: OS/PC/CUB/AD/GW. Closing date: 13 September 1996.

Founded in 1942, Oxfam works with poor people regardless of race or religion in their struggle against hunger, disease, exploitation and poverty.

Ostom Die trotonicus streeting to be die chief nankelballe smytoe.

DEGREE COURSES: Earn that vital degree qualification entirely by distance learning. Our Bachelor's, Master's or Doctorate degree programmes are directed at f-motivated mon and women who have already moved some dista ards their own goals. There are no formal exantinations or reside: requirements. Full credits and exemptions are allocated for Acades Life and Work experience. Enquiries to:-

KNIGHTSBRIDGE, UNIVERSITY Dept GW51, U.K.Administration Office, EMC Ltd. 4, Lisburne Square, Torquay. TQI 2PT. ENGLAND Fax: +44 (0)1803 201831

weets.
Carolina Hardey Rocknewch
2 Hoole Street.
Chisteriidd, England S41 oak
Cal/Paxi +44 1240 656481 wik101707.650ccmpung z.com

Out of Print books

English and U.S

Found and sone worldwide. A Helphin and efficient service with no search fees and no obligation. Write, for or phone with year.

GLIARDIAN WEEKLY

FARME AFRICA

will be

advertising feature

on 25 August 1996

Please call the sales team on +44 161 834

> for more detalls

8686

Project Co-ordinator at FARM-Africa's Bubati Agricultural Development

Project in Tanzania.

Started in 1990

Integrated rural development project with the following components: livestock and paravets, agre-forestry, schools, women, oxenisation, crop publishing an

Main donors: Partners in Rural Development (Canadian), German Agro-Action

28 project staff

THE POST

Report to the Executive Director of FARM-Africa Responsible for the overall management of the Project, including fieldwork, accounts and

Expansion of FARM's programme in Tanzania Salary by negotiation

QUALIFICATION/EXPERIENCE

' More than 5 years project managen

Experience of working with NGOs Degree in agriculture, animal science, or similar

Are you interested in the arrigement and the factors which

course will start at October 1995, apploring the interaction of

matable for graduate aluderts with first degrees in any of the

widening of students' knowledge into new areas and in depth

The course may be taken on a full-time, part-time or modular basis.

For further information about the course, and for application forms

Professor D.B. Nedwell, MEnv Course Director,

University of Essex

Department of Biological and Chemical Sciences,

Telephone: 01206 872211. E-mil: nedwd@assex.ac.uk,

ecological, ecological, economic, accounting, legal and polycel

factors in determining the outcome of amironmental questions and problems at both national and international levels. The course will be

nes encompassed by the course, and will provide both a

mine how it is treated ? A new multidisciplinary taught Master's

Closing date for applications is 6th September 1996. Please send full C.V., covering letter and contact telephone number to

> David Campbell, Executive Director, FARM-Africa 9-10 Southampton Place, London WC1A 2EA Fax: 0171 430 0460

APPOINTMENTS/COURSES 21

EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY

CUSO is a Canadian non-government organization working on international development and social justice through placing co-operantsivolunteers.

We are seeking a

PROGRAMME CO-ORDINATOR

for the southern and cast Africa sub-region, who will work under the direction of the African Regional Director. The successful candidate will be based in Tanzania and will be responsible tegional Director. The successful candidate will be based in Tanzania and will be responsible for providing leadership on programme development in southern and east Africa, and will play a lead role in formulating and implementing revenue generation strategies in the sub-region. Currently there are programmes in Tanzania, Mozambique, South Africa and Zimbabwe; the thematic focus of the work in the region is on land rights. The Programme Co-ordinator is also responsible for operational aspects of the programme including co-ordination of financial and human resources and supervision of staff as delegated by the Regional Director.

QUALIFICATIONS AND REQUIREMENTS will include

Minimum of 5 years work in the region within the not-for-profit/NGO sector at a similar level of responsibility

Proven human and financial resource management skills including experience of managing staff at a distance Proven programme management skills including development, implementation and

evaluation, based on a sound understanding of the political, social and economic realities of the region A knowledge of land issues in the sub-rogion and how these relate to similar issues in

Canada would be an advantage

Knowledge of fundraising principles and practices and demonstrated experience Excellent communication skills. Effective communication in English and Portuguese is

required; a knowledge of Swahili would be an advantage Computer literacy in use of work-processing, spreadsheet and data-base applications

Experience of working with co-operants/volunteers overseas

Willingness to travel throughout the region

Qualified candidates should submit their curriculum vitae, names and addresses of 3 referees, otocopies of cortificates and a short stutement on how they see themselves contributing to the work to the Administrative Assistant at P.O. Box 9070, Airport, Accra, Ghana or by fax to (233)21 772948 by 2 September, 1996

CUSO is committed to employment equity.

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE LONDON Taught Master's in UCL Institute of Archueology Environment, Science and Society (MEnv)

Lectureship(s) in the Archaeology of South and/or East Asia and/or Australia and the Pacific

Applications are invited for one or more Lectureships in the above areas. The appointee(s) will be expected to contribute to undergraduate and postgraduate teaching (at least one undergraduate third year specialist course on the archaeology of the relevant region as well as major contributions to thematic courses) and to take an active part in research, including fieldwork in appropriate area(s). S/He should have a doctoral degree in archaeology or a related

The post(s) is/are tenable from November 1996 (or as soon as possible thereafter) and the salary (inclusive of London Weighting) is expected to be within the Grade A Lectureship scale (£17,288 - £21,982 p.a.) although appointment on the Grade B scale (£22,811 - £28,584 p.a) is not excluded in an exceptional case. Applications (6 copies from UK applicants, 2 from overseas applicants) with full c.v., list of publications and the names of three referees should be submitted not later than 28 August 1996 to the Director, Institute o Archaeology, UCL, 31-34 Gordon Square, London WCIH 0PY (tel: 0171-380 7483, fax 0171-383 2572) from whom Aurther

Working towards Equal Opportunity

Field Office Director Maputo Mozambique

Save the Children seeks a Director to maintain overall responsi-bility for the direction and coordination of its integrated development programs in Mozambique. Reaching 200,000 needle, these or with oriented programs include child autyped. people, these growth oriented programs include child survival, reproductive health, economic opportunities, and food security. The successful candidate will have a minimum of 7 years experience in managing large integrated development programs. Demonstrated experience is required in leadership; national and international staff training and management; program design, implementation, evaluation, and analysis; fund reising. AID and other U.S. government and United Nations grants and contracts experience is essential. Strong representational abilities with fluency in written and spoken English required. Portuguese fluency preferred. Qualified candidates may apply to: Save the Children, Dept M-LZ, 54 Wilton Road, Wastport, CT 36680. Fax 203-221-4077. An EOE Mf.

《) 在公司的语言中**原则的问题**的特别性语言的现在分词 Save the Children.



CENTRE FOR HEALTH ECONOMICS (INTERNATIONAL PROGRAMME) SENIOR RESEARCH FELLOW/RESEARCH FELLOW

The University wishes to make two appointments of health economists with experience of developing countries and/or former communist countries in transition to strengthen a small team involved in costgraduate teaching, research and advisory work. The appointments vill be for a fixed term of two years initially at Grade IA, It or III (£14,317 - £31,357 pa), depending on qualifications and experience.

You will be expected to contribute to the management and teaching of at least one post experience course and to undertake overseas assignments. Willingness to spend a considerable proportion of working time (up to 20 weeks annually) on overseas assignments is an ssential condition for these appointments.

Further information and details of how to apply may be obtained from the Personnel Office, University of York, Heslington, YORK YOI 5DD. Please quote reference number 2/6669. The closing date for applications is 5 September 1996.

THE UNIVERSITY of York

St CHRISTOPHER

A SCHOOL WITH A LONGTERM COMMITMENT TO OVERSEAS FAMILIES

A St Christopher School we have boarders from 8 to 18 from a wide range of cultural and national backgrounds. Our long experience helps us make a caring and supportive homefile for such boys and girls. Overseas parents are represented on our well established Parents' Committee.

he School has been fully co-aducational, boarding and egetarian since 1915. Our campus has the informal atmosphere of a friendly village. Younger boarders live in family style houses with Houseparents and with breakfast, tea and supper taken in the boarding house. 6th Formers nave student rooms.

We aim at good work and high ideals with lots of fun in the process. A full and challenging curriculum leads to 16 GCSE and 19 A Level courses with equal emphasis on arts and science. There are exceptional facilities for art, music, drama, computing and adventure training. We encourage self-confidence by valuing each child as an individual sell-confidence by valuing each child as an individual. Entry considered at most levels from age 8 - 16

For more details, contact Susan Meilor, Admissions Secretary Tel: 01462 679301 Fax: 01462 481578 St Christopher School Letchworth, Herts SGB 3JZ

mile from A1(M), 35 minutes from Kings Cross The School is an Educational Charity



Support for Refugees, Displaced People and the disadvantaged at home and overseas

COUNTRY REPRESENTATIVE - SUDAN

We are looking for a Country Representative for Sudan (based in Port Sudan) for a two year contract. We require at least 2 years of management and project co-ordination experience in relief and development, preferably in the Horn of Africa; proven financial background; excellent report writing skills; computer skills, excel and word; and knowledge or willingness to learn of Arabic.

For further details please contact Pat Moseley, The Ockenden Venture, Constitution Hill, Woking, Surrey, GU22 7UU. Tel: 01483 772012. Fax No. 01483 750774.

Closing date for applications: 30th August 1996.

Charley No. 1053720

their 4.5-billion-year history, the

planets would have been subjected

to a much more intense cosmi

bombardment. Rocks and boulden

must have travelled in profusion

The significance of this discov-

ery for life on Mars is obvious if

Earth's rocks harbour micro organisms, then material displaced

nto space by impacts could convey

live microbes to the Red Planet

whereupon they may emerge and

colonise their new home. Co

cooned in a rock, a microbe would

between Earth and Mars.

Father of the jet age

Sir Frank Whittle

IR FRANK WHITTLE, who has died of lung cancer aged 89, was an engineering genius frustrated by official disinterest and political manipulation, yet finally triumphant. He is known throughout the world as the inventor of the turbojet engine, which he patented in 1930; as the pioneer of high-flow compressors; and as the holder of first patents on the later turbofan and bypass jet engines Whittle-based engines transformed aviation and have powered all major aircraft since the fifties.

From 1929 he had been expounding the potential of the turbolet i high-speed and high-altitude fligh The Air Ministry listened without enthusiasm, repeatedly declaring that although in theory the jet engine was sound, the required high-temperature alloys were not available and, for practical purposes, the idea was largely pie in the sky. There was neither government nor industrial interest in Whittle's 1930 patent and, until 1936, no financial support for development.

Whittle, by this time on a post graduate fellowship at l'eterhouse was close to despair. (but of the blue, two retired RAF pilots, R D Williams and J C B Tinling, plus M I. Bramson a pilot-engineer with connections to the investment firm Falk and Part ners - offered to join forces in a development company with Whittle at its head. Bramson produced an enthusiastic report, and an agree ment proposing the establishment of Power Jets Ltd on private capital was | tion from Whittle. In spite of having sent to the Air Ministry.

There was no offer of financial ordered to hand over all production work to the established aero engine

by the head of aeronautical sciences. Whittle argued that they were ill-Melville Jones, Whittle launched the prepared for an entirely new techology. Later delays showed he was Not until 1939, with Whittle's right but his plea was in vain and third experimental engine showing Power Jets Ltd was restricted to substantial technical promise, did research work. Whittle resigned the Air Ministry step in with a contract allowing Whittle to head and his health broke down. His life's work became the property, under Crown use, of Rolls-Royce and Power Jeta Ltd and develop a prototype engine for the RAF. The result Armstrong-Siddeley in Britain, and was the famous W.1 flight engine, the major manufacturers of the designed into the single-seat experi-Inited States. Whittle's role became mental fighter aircraft E28/39. that of consultant. That he was later With jet engines obviously headawarded £100,000 in compensation. ing for success, the Air Ministry large sum in the forties, seems an came under heavy pressure from the British aircraft industry —

not over. His third engine design, taken over by Rolls-Royce in 1943

nadequate recompense for the **Anthony Tucker** rention of a vast new hi-tech

Whittle's disappointments were

The power and the glory . . . Sir Frank Whittle inside the intake of a Rolls-Royce engine. To his despair tion in hand, Power Jets Ltd was | after prolonged delays, emerged as the Welland. Power Jets was nationalised and Whittle appointed as an adviser. In 1946, with jet enbine Establishment. Whittle was

gine development taking of throughout the world, his company was deprived of all rights to design and develop engines, and converted into the National Gas Turdispatched on fecture tours. Two years later, with the rank of Air Commodore, he was invalided out of the RAF and knighted. He promptly began a second career, as academic, consultant and inventor first in Britain with the oil companies (the Whittle drill), and, from 1976, in the US.

Frank A Whittle, Inventor of the jet engine, born June 1, 1907; died

the presidency in 1960. But in 1964, | centre-right. At the head of a loose electoral coalition of leftwing paradhering to his high code of personal morality, Siles became fearful that ties. Siles won three consecutive Paz was setting himself up as a elections between 1978 and 1980 But the military refused to let him take office, clinging on to power until 1982 when international and domestic pressure forced them to hand over to civilian rule. When Siles was finally sworn in for his second term as president, it brought to

an end 18 years of military rule. Siles inherited an economy that was a shambles and widespread social unrest. The world price of tin. on which Bolivia was heavily dependent, was at an all-time low. The government was hit by crippling strikes and inflation soared to around 20,000 per cent a year. Siles tried to restage the 1952 revolution from the left. He refused to implement the stringent reforms demanded by the Latin American country officially to | from there it was professionally, default on its debt.

By late 1984 he was almost totally isolated, unable to control inflation, and facing a hostile congress and labour unrest. When Bolivia's bishops proposed that the election be brought forward a year to 1985, Siles could only acquiesce. Deeply embittered, he went into exile in Uruguay, where he lived until his death.

Cruel end to sixties dream

Ossie Clark

OSSIE CLARK, aged 54, one of the most influential figures in post-war British fashion, was stabbed to death at his west London home last week.

He was one of the British working-class wunderkinder who enlivened the art school scene in the 1960s and, finding they were having so much fun, created swinging London as the playpen for it to continue.

Born in Liverpool, Ossie -real name Raymond — was evacuated to Oswaldtwistle on he Lancashire-Yorkshire border, and returned to live in Warrington in 1947. He was, by his own admission, a mislit, dancing to a tune quite different from that followed by the other boys on his council estate.

Destined to be a brickle, he was sent to Warrington technical college, where he did so well that he was accepted by Manchester College of Art to study design. He went on to the Royal College of Art and left in 1964 with a first-class degree — the only student to receive one in his year.

He plunged into swinging andon with enthusiasm, and rapidly became one of its characters. Socially, he was a close friend of David Hockney and Andy Warhol: hung out with Jim Hendrix and Mick Jagger; spent camp weekends at Reddish with Cecil Beaton; and designed the most ravishingly pretty dresses for the girls who surrounded him. Marianne Falthfull, Bianca agger, Marie Helvin, Jerry Hall and Twiggy were all part of his life and an inspiration to him.

It was while working at Quorum - one of the most successful King's Road boutlancs that he met the fabric designer Celia Birtwell, with whom he struck up a very successful

partnership. In 1969 they married, and the two were famously painted by their friend David Hockney. The portrait hangs in the Tate. There vere two sons, Albert and George, but the marriage ended

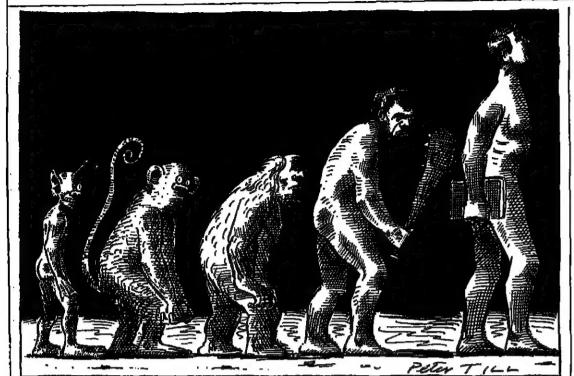
On the business side, his creative originality was not matched by a commercial Instinct and later ambitious ventures foundered. He was declared bankrupt in 1983 and attempts to revive his career

The 1980s scuppered him. The man who said "I detest money" stood no chance of surviving those money-mad days. Ossie Clark went bankrupt emotionally and even socially, more or less downhill all the

And yet there was a tromendously moving sense of hope in Ossie Clark. He looked to the future, convinced that his day must come again and his talent be recognised by a new generation.

Colin McDowell

Ossie (Raymond) Clark, fashion designer, born 1942; died August 6,



Return ticket to Mars

Paul Davies argues that since planets have been hurling rocks at each other for agons, life on Mars could have come from Earth. Or vice versa

■ ASA'S announcement of evidence for Martian microfossils signals a dramatic U-turn in scientific opinion about the Red Planet. Twenty years ago scientists had all but written off Mars as an abode for life after the Viking Lander missions, Samples of Martian topsoil scooped up by the Viking craft showed no convincing signs of organic activity. Moreover, the surface temperature and atmospheric pressure were dismally low. in short, Mars seemed a sterile, forbidding planet.

Now scientists are questioning this conclusion. Several Mars experts have for some time been

expressing cautious optimism that Mars may once have harboured life. Some have even suggested that Martian microbes may still survive, deep beneath the surface.

One reason for this change of heart was the discovery of life in some unusual places on Earth. In the late 1970s biologists were amazed to find organisms living on the ocean floor, several kilometres down, close to volcanic vents. Here there is no sunlight, and the temperatures can be well above 100C. The fluids erupting from the vents are richly laced with sulphurous and other chemicals that would kill most familiar organisms. Yet there are microbes - thermophiles - that

thrive in these conditions. Thermophiles are independent of the food and energy chain that sustains surface life. Instead, they make a living from the hot chemical broth that vomits from the vents. This prolific source of energy supports an

The deep-ocean thermophiles along with their microbial cousins living in the boiling geysers of Yellowstone National Park, are no evolutionary quirks. Indeed, there could be thousands of species of these microbes. They are so weird that they form their own kingdom of life, called archaea. Many biologists think the archaea closely resemble

Earth's earliest living organisms.

But this is not all. Deep drilling projects in the ocean floor have shown traces of microbes in the crust of Earth itself. Evidence is accumulating of an underworld of exotic life-forms, with microbes teeming in the hot rocks beneath our feet.

The importance of this discovery for Mars is that similar conditions are likely to have prevailed beneath the Martian surface, too, during its 4.5-billion-year history. Photographs show ancient river systems on Mars, including huge canyons and deltas entire ecology that includes crabs | cut by running water. Geologists susand tube-worms several metres long. | pect that massive flash floods were

PAMBER CAR HIRE U.K PHONES+44 (0) 1734 442412

ROVER 416 & 216 \$150 H ROVER 620 BLI

HONE OR FAX FOR A BEOCHURE TODAY FOR FULL DEFMES

\$150 K ROVER 820 BLI

where y raph selves pilly compressing shurang and unsulted select com epiges. Edge of the expensional bissoury for long term, calls selten has bootters analyses. Fore deliment to lingua ampset of indicated out terms, place has deferred to linguage the linguage of indicated out terms.

LLY, HEADING, RGS ODB, FAX:+44 (0) 1734 69629

£ 90 F PEUGHOT 1.6 MATATE £188

£120 G FORD MONDEO 1.8/2.0 LX £176

could have created a perfect environment for Martian thermophiles. But suitable conditions are one thing, the actual emergence of life

caused by volcanoes melting under-

ground ice deposits. The combination of volcanic activity and water

quite another. Biologists still have scant idea how life began. Darwin suggested it started in a "warm little pond" on Earth's surface. The avoured theory is that chemical selforganisation occurred in a soup of organic compounds, creating mole cules of greater and greater complexity, until the first truly selfreplicating molecule was produced.

The trouble is, nobody knows how long this prebiotic phase lasted, or whether the first organism formed on Earth's surface, in the hot underworld, or somewhere else entirely. Also, scientists are sharply divided over whether the formation of life was a completely freak occurrence, unique in the universe, or a more or less inevitable result given the right conditions.

Even if life on Earth is a squillionto-one freak occurrence, we cannot rule out life on Mars. Over the last decade or so, geologists have be-come convinced that a handful of meteorites found on Earth originated on Mars. In fact, a fragment of one has been in the possession of the University of Adelaide for years. The meteorite in the news, containing possible micro-fossils, was recovered in 1986 from the Antarctic ice sheet.

It may seem baffling that chunks of Mars are found right here on Earth. How do they get here? The answer is simple. Every few million years Mars gets slammed by an asteroid or comet with enough force to blast rocks into space. You can see the craters clearly in satellite photos. peppering the Martian landscape. Over the aeons the ejected fragments become strewn around the solar system. Some inevitably get swept up by other planets as they orbit the Sun. It has been estimated that 500kg of Martian material strikes Earth every year. The same process is bound to happen in reverse: big impacts with Earth eject debris into space, some of which will reach Mars. So it seems as if rocky material is continually being ex-

changed between the planets.

be shielded from the ultra-violet and cosmic radiation of outer space. In spore-like form, it might To reach Mars alive, microbes must survive their projection from Earth and the heat and shock of entry into the Martian atmosphere Jay Mellosh of the University of Arizona suggests that considerab

quantities of rocks ejected by major impact would in fact remain relatively unscathed. Moreover, a reasonable fraction of rocks that strike the Martian atmosphere at a glancing angle would slow and explode, spilling their microbial cargo gently to the ground. Today any space-faring bugs would encounter harsh and probably lethal conditions on Mars. But in the past, when conditions were more favourable, they might have felt at

My conclusion, first presented at series of lectures in Italy in 1993, and described in my book Are We Alone?, is that Earth and Mars may well have cross-fertilised each other During the first billion years, when nicrobial life began to establish itself on Earth, this interplanetary contant

ination might have been common. The new evidence presented by Nasa strongly supports this theory. If a fossil microbe can reach Earth from Mars, it is likely that a live microbe can do so too. If so, it would be hard to tell whether life ongnated on Earth or Mars, or on both independently. It may turn out that Mars was the more favourable location. In which case we would all be lescended from Martians.

Paul Davies is Professor of Natural Philosophy at the University of

CLASSIFIED

CAR HIRE

ACCESS CAR HIRE U.K Fax. +44 (0) 1734 60820 forncastle Garage Ltd (Dept.X) ath Road, Reading, Berkshire BG30 2HS SPECIAL OFFERSII AVAILABLE ON MOST MODELS DURING APRIL & MAY AIRPORT TERMINAL MEET & GREET SERVICE

PLEASE WRITE PHONE OR FAX FOR DETAILS **ESCORT 1.6LXI for 2 WEEKS**

£280.60 Fully inclusive of comprehensive insuranc CDW, delivery/collection to Heathrow, Gatwick or London; unfimited mileage.

Cy Benta PRICES ESS PER WEEK

LOW. LOW PRICES # GREAT SERVICE FROM A WORLDWIDE COMPANY IN FULLY INCLUSIVE RATES IN WIDE HANGE OF VEHICLES # OVER 60 LOCATIONS NATIONWIDE ■ CALL. WRITE OR FAX TO OUR CENTRAL RESERVATIONS

TELEPHONE FACSIMILE 01494 442 110 01494 474 732 THEORY CAR RENTAL THE OLD COUNTHOLISE HAPS EMDEN ROAD HOCH WYCOMISE BUCKS. HETS GOT NEW CARS: OLD PRICES HEATHROW/GATWICK Personal meet & greet service Discounts for expats & diplomats
Unlimited mileage " Full 24 hr AA & RAC cover VISA/Access accented

Contact us for fully inclusive rate

Tel +44 1483 860046

Fax +44 1483 860187

58 Meadow, Godshming, Surrey

BOBERT WHITLEY CAR HIRE RUBBERT WHITTEN CAR HIGH
HEATHROW - QATWICE
CAR FROM 619 FW INC
BETATE VARS £113 FW INC,
BETATE VAR £113 FW INC,
SERVE CAY OF FROM £109 INC,
1910/FOT 405 LATE MODEL £1 40.50
SEAT TRIBOD INEW MODEL
SEYEN SEATE BETATE £150
GRANALM GHIA AUTO £189 IOCH OF OVER 40 VEHICLES, INCLUD OVER, UNLIMITED MILBATE, INSURA ND FREE COLLECTION AND DRILYIES or an immediate competitive quot telephone 44 (0) 1252 - 794459 Rux 44 (0) 1252 - 794459 Mobile 44 (0) 313 - 116709 Ine Cottage; Tillord Road, Ristina Fayahami, Subrey Cil 10 218,

MARTINS Car Hire +44 1256 843035 +44 1256 24448 Quote ref: GDWK96 MARTINS Personal meet & greet service at Heathrow & Galwick Airports fox +44 1256 843035 phone +44 1256 24448, Quote ref: GDWR96

HOTELS & APARTMENTS

CAR RENTAL

ir rates are inclusive of VAT, CDV namited Mileage and full AA men

bership We offer a Meet and Greet service at Airport Terminals

CINQUECENTO

FORD FIESTA

NISSAN MICRA

FORD ESCORT

6562

WEERLY DAILY?

17.00

19.00

21.00

98.00

119.00

133.00

147.00

161.00

AUTOMATIC 182,00 26.00

HEATHROW-AUTOHIRE-GATWICK THE VILLAGE GARAGE, HIGH STREET, DORMANSLAND, SUR-REY, RH7 6PY

TELEPHONE:-00 44 1342 870074

FAX:-00 44 1342 870084



LONDON Self-contained, fully serviced appriments in Kensington – close to park, shops, based and subviviys. Colour TV, telephone, equipped kitchen, central heating. Modern complete a reasonable rates. Car Park. Brochurs by return mail Clude Q OHALFONT (KENSINGTON) LTD 186 102 KENSINGTON OHURCH STREET, LONDON WE 4DP ENGLAND Teb (0) 171 229 6371 / 229 3065 FEU (0) 171 727 7036 Taless 252483 (ref /83864)

Reconstructed revolutionary

Hernan Siles Zuazo

HERNAN SILES ZUAZO, who has died aged 83, was one of the most important figures in Bolivia's turbulent political history. As one of the founding members of the Nationalist Revolutionary Movement (MNR), he led the bloody 1952 uprising that became known as the Bolivian Revolution. After Mexico and Cuba, it was one of the most farreaching political movements is Latin America this century, leading to the nationalisation of Bolivia's tin mines, big reforms which gave land to indigenous people, and the introduction of universal suffrage. But it was also short-lived and failed to resolve Bolivia's structural problem of

Siles was a small, thin, myopic man, whose protruding front teeth earned him the nickname of conejo (rabbit). It was a misnomer. He was a man with a well-deserved reputation the front, waving a pistol, ahead of miners hurling sticks of dynamite.

he was sworn in as interim presifully surrendered it to his party of the betrayal of the revoluti chief, Victor Paz Estenssoro, who Paz Estenssoro succeeded Siles to founders of the MNR veered to the Merch 21, 1914; deci August 6, 1998

exile in Argentina.

which hitherto had done nothing to

help - to take over future produc-

several contracts for engine produc-

nelp from the ministry. Neverthe-

less, encouraged by his Cambridge

tutor, Professor Roy Lubbock, and

company on a shoestring.

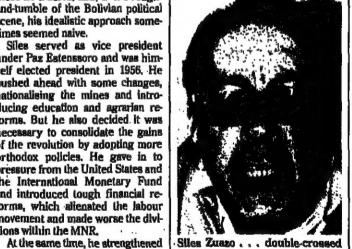
Siles was the son of a presiden and a full-blooded political animal. But his career seemed almost amateurish. He was double-crossed by those he trusted, and, in the roughand-tumble of the Bolivian political acene, his idealistic approach some-

times seemed naive. Siles served as vice president under Paz Estenssoro and was himself elected president in 1956. He pushed ahead with some changes, nationalising the mines and introducing education and agrarian re-forms. But he also decided it was necessary to consolidate the gains of the revolution by adopting more orthodox policies. He gave in to pressure from the United States and the International Monetary Fund and introduced tough financial reforms, which alienated the labour movement and made worse the divisions within the MNR.

for courage. During the 1952 upristing, this diminutive man was out in immediately after the revolution. When miners went on strike to niners hurling sticks of dynamite.

His loyalty was of a similar calwages and the removal of food subsiibre: after the brief, bloody civil war, ... dies, . Siles sent in the army to counter peasant and miner militias. | sive military regimes that followed. dent. A lesser man would have kept | Twenty years later, he would look | On his return to Bolivia, Siles power for himself. Instead, he duti- back at this period as the beginning

caudillo (leader) and refused to give him his support for a third term. He successfully conspired with the military to overthrow Paz in November.



But this unlikely alliance was shortlived and Siles was forced into exile. From his exile in Chile and then Argentina, Siles opposed the represbecame increasingly radical as Paz Estenssoro and the other fellow-

Hugo Estenssoro and James Hodges

Hernan Siles Zuazo, politician, bom

Stars in their eyes

Derek Malcolm

HAT you should know be-fore you see Isadepic, about the day the Earth almost copped its lot from hostile aliens. bears a 12 certificate. You are not going to be scared out of your wits. The first thought you have when you come out is that it is, in fact, a kids' movie for adults.

This is not to downgrade it, but merely to point out that it's less a Close Encounters or Dr Strangelove and more the kind of epic Irwin Allen lusted to make. Lavish in scale, corniall to a T and a wonderfully enthusiastic blend of fifties scifi and seventies disaster movies, it works well because it fixes so determinedly on the cinema's past while pasting on to it the kind of special effects the dozens of movies it copies simply couldn't contemplate at the time.

Its one original thought is that the world is saved not by some noble-looking superstar but by the combined resources of a slightly eccentric Jew (Jeff Goldblum), a cocky black American (Will Smith). a drunken specimen of white trash (Randy Quaid) and a President (Bill Pullman) who looks young enough to be Bill Clinton's nephew. Admittedly, it all shows what cardboard can do for character.

The rest of the mortals on display are Hollywood versions of ordinary reality - Goldblum a New York computer nut with a terminally tiresome old kvetch of a father Undd Hirsch) who sports a yarmulke when all seems lost, Smith a cocky pilot straight from Top Gun who has a stripper for a live-in girlfriend and marries her in the middle of it all, and Quaid a sodden Vietnum veteran who really was picked up by aliens years before but can't get anyone to believe him.

All these enthusiastic puppets are strictly at the service of the special effects. These are not always state of the art but never fail to be artful — whether they involve giant spaceships glowering over New York, LA or Iraq, electro-magnetic ray guns rapping the Empire State Building and the White House or supersonic jets burying themselves in the vast maw of the alien mother ship.

Oddly, considering the huge offorts put into the spectacle, the moments when the apocalypse strikes at the population itself are no more awe-inspiring than when, all those years ago, King Kong trampled around New York with poor Fay Wray in his paws. In fact, really far between.

There are some, though, such as when Air Force One, carrying the just ahead of the rolling blast created by the alien firestorm and noses its way into the clear in the nick of time, And when Smith, having got hold of an alien pilot, drags the slimy beast in his parachute across the desert towards his res-

Otherwise, there isn't a single thing in the film you haven't seen before - even if you can't quite recall where you've seen it. The point is that you probably haven't seen it all in one movie, and the mixture is fairly heady.

hand on the titler and a shrewd eye | other means

for what a popcorn movie is really

What he's made is not exactly credible, cathartic or even memorably silly, but it is at least all the better for very seldom degenerating either into the camp smile of someone who knows he's only fooling or into the kind of pretension that seems much too hollow to be true.

It is to his credit that he takes the fun seriously, well aware that he is making the biggest B-movie of all time. He's prepared to be simplemindedly patriotic and, in so doing, to underline the feelgood idea that if only we all worked together we could accomplish almost anything.

A marketing campaign that's even more successful than the film itself appears to have done the rest for him. Expect records to full like ninepins here, too.

Chekhov is a good enough writer survive almost anything thrown at him, even in the cinema. Anthony Hopkins's first film as director, August, is a Welsh, but thankfully not a Weish-language, version of Uncle Vanya.

Intelligently adapted by Julian Mitchell and set near the turn of the century, this is not a tricksy attempt to achieve new relevance but solid, steady, often very well-acted Vanya, much in the British veln, which focuses on the idea of lives wasting away in the countryside, succoured by drink and sourcess.

Of course, you can't help but make the shooting incident funny and that the film certainly does, with Hopkins's Vanya, now called leuan, attacking Leslie Phillips's pompous professor as the whole family dive hysterically for cover.

Hopkins is a very fine leuan-Vanya, a disappointed souse permanently kicking against the minor pricks of life as if, in doing so, he'll eventually affect the major ones. As a director, he watches himself minutely but very seldom hogs the screen. Kate Burton is fine as the dried-up beauty whom everyone, except possibly her dreadful hus-



August . . . Anthony Hopkins stars in his directing debut

an imposing-looking local doctor, rushing off to deal with injured miners between drinking buckets of as intolerable as he has to be as the hollow professor.

What I liked about this very well designed and nicely shot production is that, despite its lack of real cinematic flair, it allows you to see the play clearly and illustrates the drip, drip, drip of disappointed hopes with considerable precision.

If that's dull, it must be because we've forgotten what it's like to lis-Emmerich doesn't so much di- I ten in the cinema as opposed to rect as orchestrate it all with a firm | have our minds blown away by



Double Hedda . . . Harriet Walter as Ibsen's tragic heroine and Donald Threlfall as the laconically self-

One for the money, two for the show

Michael Billington

WO Heddas are better than one. In fact the chance to see two diferent productions of Hedda Gabler - English Touring Theatre's at London's Donmar Warehouse and a new version at the Minerva Studio. Chichester - intensifies one's admiration for Ibsen's technical mastery and the mystery of acting. But if Stephen Unwin's production wins on points over Lindy Davies's at Chichester, it is because it realises a fundamental truth: that Ibsen is providing a portrait of a society as well as of a tormented individual.

The two Heddas themselves are both extraordinary: a mixture of vixen and victim, predator and prey. Alexandra Gilbreath at the Donmar is the more severe, with her hair pressed flat against her skull and her habit of prowling round the par-lour. Acutely intelligent and totally unfulfilled, she relentlessly probes her own and other people's weaknesses. What she craves is power over an individual destiny but, when she finally achieves it, she is terrified of the consequences. The great

Lovborg to certain death, she lets out a cry that starts as triumphant exaltation and turns into gutvrenching despair.

Harriet Walter at Chichester inevitably makes many of the same points; that Hedda combines innate cowardice with a burning envy of Mrs Elvsted and her capacity to shape another human life, Walter, however, lays more stress on Hedda's suppressed romanticism: she yearns for power but also for an impossible "beauty" in life without the ugly reality of hole-in-corner

BOTH READINGS are sustainable and prove the polyphonic richness of Ibsen's play. But the key difference is that Unwin uses a wonderfully crisp translation by Kenneth McLeish and brings all the characters into unremittingly sharp focus. Crispin Letts's Tesman, for instance, is no pedagogic ninny but an intelligent scholar who, at the last, angrily and consciously rejects Hedda's cruelty. David Killick's ludge Brack is a suave militarynoustached lecher who turns the final screw on Hedda with sadistic relish. And Carol Starks's Mrs

not only by her own nature but b oppressive male-dominal hypocritical society. At the Domnar you get Ibsen's moment in Gilbreath's performance | Elvsted, although parronised by complete world: at Chiches comes when, having sent Eilert | Hedda and Lovborg, has the selfless | get a fine solo performance. complete world: at Chichester you

bounded on stage, postured and wiped his arse in now-traditional performing-monkey fashion. The

pre-music entertainment involved

pooting a bloated football into the

crowd. His kick was lame; with ad-

herents like these, it's no wonder

Manchester City went down, After

some minutes alone - marking out

joined by his brother and his band.

some of the finest moments when

wont to do - Gallagher junior

Noel retained his dignity, prov

the littl'un was taking time out.

Everything in Unwin's produc

tion — one of the best Hedda

Gablers I've seen - is carefully

thought through. When Tesman buries his head in Aunt Julia's lap,

you are reminded that he is an or

phaned figure constantly seeking

mother-substitutes. Unwin creates a

whole world that explains the char-

Lindy Davies's production lacks

that mix of detail and linear clarity.

Superfluous music introduces each

act, speeches overlap, the text

"adapted" by Helen Cooper has add

anachronisms such as "you can say

that again". Above all, the surround

ing characters are seen from

Hedda's viewpoint rather than their

own. Walter's Hedda aside, the one

sharply defined performance is

destructive Lovborg. But the real lesson of this double

Hedda is that Ibsen wrote not just a

great part but a great play; one i

which the protogonist is destroyed

David Threlfall's laconically self-

acters' actions.

Loch 'n' roll with Oasis

ROCK

Brian Logan

- by its simplicity. You might stop at Corries tea shop for a cuppa and a scone; you might linker with tartans everyone else's whisky. Phillips is in Loch Lomond Kilts. It's a far cry from . . . well, from Manchester.

When locals heard that Oasis were to visit, they kicked up something of a fuss. How could sleepy Balloch take the strain of these rock gods and 80,000 boisterous disciples? We have, they protested, only

one public lavatory. Yet the horde that flocked to Loch Lomond last weekend was extended a warm(ish) reception. "West Dumbartonshire Council Welcomes You" read the signs; West Dumbartonshire residents, meanwhile, glared | but with 20,000 simpers. Liam | loch would have been hoping so too

Rumour has it that forward-thin? ing revellers had come to Balloch A MBLE down Balloch's main tion of the arena to bury their drugs beyond the investigation of the will-est police officer. If there is an epidemic of blissed-out rabbits in the west of Scotland, we'll know why.

From the back of the natural auditorium, next to Balloch Castle, the panorama took in first the stage, then the wooded ebb and swell of the wilds, and to one side the silver, plain of Loch Lomond, disappearing into a distant gien.

The vast crowd was warned, as darkness closed in, to look out for irritating pests. Then Patsy Kensit appeared, peering from the wings. Her flance needs £50,000 to pay for her engagement ring. It was time for him to start earning it.

When the last guitar string twanged, fireworks exploded into the night sky, shattering once and for all the rural calm. This was a show, all right, Oasis will be hoping that, like those rockets, the recording of the event will propel them into the American stratosphi a sea of cuphoric souls broke its banks and spilled out of this some times serene glade, leaving an ocean-bed of litter in its wake; Bal-The show began, not with a bang,

GUARDIAN WEBKLY

Second nature

John Gittings

HEN Chinese landscape artists had to produce politically correct works in the age of Mao Zedong, they re-sorted to all sorts of subtle devices. The group of scholars drinking tea beneath the waterfall was replaced by a party of healthy socialist youth. Red flags and pylons sprouted on the mountain peaks.

But modern Chinese art had all ready been wrestling with the rival demands of tradition and modernity for half a century, and the communist revolution only presented a new dimension of complexity.

The results were sometimes banal. But more often they were brilliant, as we can now see in an exciting exhibition at the British Museum until the end of September, which presents this vast subject with admirable clarity.

There is only one pylon picture on show — but it is a classic of its kind, Song Wenzhi's Spring Morning In Lake Dongting (1973) shows junks and black-tiled houses between paddy fields, viewed from a wooded hillside through a wraith of mist — plus the pylons, placed in improbable positions.

More dubious politically, Pan Tinnshou's Morning Mist (1961) shows a balding eagle, feathers dishevelled but about to soar off through the gallery. Perhaps Pan intended to illustrate socialist resolve He was still denounced by Madame Mao for painting a "very gloomy eagle" and accused of being an agent for imperialism.

But the great dialectic between tradition and innovation is much more than a question of politics, embracing form as much as content. Social realism was explored -

long before socialist realism — by painters such as Xu Beihong in his naturalistic figure work. In 1912, after the revolution that overthrew the Manchu emperors, a far-sighted minister of education proposed the setting-up of a Western-type art school where students would be encouraged to express themselves freely. Traditional painting - the guoliua or "national painting" - had become lifeless and hackneyed, deers, sages and birds. This exhibition | Mist (1961) earned him the title 'agent of imperialism'

presents the various types of innova tive painting that arose.

The Linguan School in Canton

combined modern themes with Chinese techniques. In Shanghai and Beijing the xieyi style of "free and spontaneous brushwork emerged, with strong bold colour that was often influenced by Western oils. Its proponents included the great master Qi Baishi (1864-1957), the carpenter-turned-painter best known for his birds and shrimps.

Socialist - as distinct from social - realism is poorly represented: the exhibition comes from Hong Kong and reflects the preferences of private collectors there. The revolutionary romanticism of the Cultural Revolution is also ignored, though with the mainland about to take over this may owe more to political

caution than to artistic taste. With the professionals in dis grace Cultural Revolutionary art was produced by collectives of "art workers", with brilllant colours and beroic figures. Peasant paintings tion had a strong effect upon style. All of this is now written off, though here were some striking results.

Traditional art values were quickly re-discovered after Mao's death, for tradition has unusual power in Chinese art. Some painters were actually directed to return to tradition while Mao was still alive. A small group known as the Hotel School was brought together in the early seventies to produce birds- | go now?

and-flower paintings for Chinese embassies abroad and new hotels at home. Today, most paintings of fered for sale to foreign visitors are still in the classical mould, often produced by distinguished provincial painters.

This interplay between tradition and innovation may become circu lar: the artists never entirely escape their cultural roots. Some never want to. And eventually the labels begin to lose meaning. Li Keran is now classed as a traditionalist his scholarly brushwork, yet in the sixtles his naturalistic approach seemed thoroughly modern.

A few artists in this exhibition mostly younger, mostly outside the mainland, have taken the next step rom innovation to invention.

There was until recently a strong want garde on the mainland, here represented by Shao Fei, who began her painting during the Cultural Revolution in the People's Liberation Army, I first met her work in the heady time of Democracy Wall (1979-80), when a group of anuteurs calling themselves the Single Spark sought to set art alight with a hotch otch of surrealism and symbolism.

Outside the Beijing Art Gallery, one artist had put up a mocking poster: Question: I can't understand this picture. All I can see is colours eaping about.

Answer: You have understood th picture correctly,

This fascinating exhibition raise deeper question, beyond the birds and pine trees, whether in traditional or innovative style; where will Chinese art, already 2000 years old.



Ruffled feathers . . . The 'gloomy eagle' in Pan Tianshou's Morning

League of his own

Andrew Clements applauds the Proms for devoting a whole day to the work of Igor Stravinsky

HE arguments about who are the most important composers of the 20th century have started already, and are likely to carry on well into the next millennium without any real likelihood of a consensus. But one figure is above the discussion: Igor Stravinsky will be the first name down on

There is no one else in our era whose achievement has been so mmense and so varied, no one, perhaps in the whole history of music, who has altered its course as drastically in a single work as he did in 1913 with the premiere of The Rite Of Spring. And there is no major composer whose career underwent so many changes of direction yet who managed to stay so true to himself, never writing a single bar of music that was not imprinted with his distinctive personality. On Sunday, the Proms devoted a whole day to his music — three concerts spanning his output - and it's hard to think of anyone who deserves that

accolade more thoroughly. If Stravinsky began his composing career as a paradigm of modrnism - one of the pioneers, along with Debussy, who took music into a brave new world in the first decades of the century - he ended it in a self-contained musical world that was entirely his own creation, refining his own austere version of serial technique which moved in an entirely different direction from that taken by the young lions of the postwar avant garde.

His earliest published work, the F sharp minor Piano Sonata, was begun in 1903, when he was studying in St Petersburg with Rimsky-Korsakov; his last completed composition, a setting of Edward Lear's The Owl And The Pussy Cat, was completed in 1966. And he lived and composed through the most tumultuous and rapidly changing period in musical history, often acting as the catalyst for the changes

Born in 1883, the year Wagner

Reich and Glass, had already begun to forge their own new language, which itself would have been unthinkable without the example of Stravinsky's own emancipation of pulse and rhythm 60 years earlier. It was a long journey through an everchanging musical landscape, which took Stravinsky physically through four countries, beginning in prerevolutionary Russia and ending in the United States, where he settled

at the start of the second world war. It is of course his early masterpieces, especially the first three ballets for Diaghiley, The Firebird, Petrushka, and The Rite Of Spring. that have remained Stravinsky's most popular and most often performed scores. But his output was enormous, and there are still major works from all periods in his life that remain too little known.

The 1922 opera Mayra, a farewell

to his Russian heritage, is hardly ever heard, let alone staged; many of the major neo-classical scores are part of the occhestral repertory, but the haunting melodrama Persephone of 1934 gets an airing less often than it deserves. And though the Proms included a performance of The Flood, Stravinsky's highly compressed version of the biblical Creation, written in 1962, the late works have never established them selves. Even Agon, a ballet masterpiece from 1957, to be ranked at least alongside Petrushka and Apollo, is only a fixture in the ballet. repertory. But pieces like Threni, his first completely serial score, the iconoclastic Movements for piano and orchestra, and the last major work Regulem Canticles, which looks back over 60 years to the

church, remain virtually unknown. Without a grasp on those late pieces especially, the full breadth of Stravinsky's creativity is hard to delineste. Everything he touched he made his own: even Pulcinella, the 1920 reworking of Pergolesi that made the whole of his, and everyone else's, neoclassicism possible sounds modern, 20th century, and could have been conceived by one composer, it was one of his turning points; after that epiphany there was no going back. But then there was never any going back; Stravinsky's music always went forward, always

liturgy of the Russian Orthodox

died, by the time of his own death in 1972 the early minimalists, Riley,

sought out new challenges and always, triumphantly, met them.

Holmes on the Waterloo warpath

TELEVISION Nancy Banks-Smith

A /AR WALKS (BBC 2), like V good general, does wonders with very limited resources. The field and farms of one musket . . . and one histo-

rian, Richard Holmes, terrier-

like in manner and moustache. Waterloo literally was a foreign field, a few acres of farmland, fertile with blood and bone. It is very quiet now. The countryside s featureless and flat. The sky is vast and vacant.

Holmes knocked on the door of La Haye Sainte, which was an ibbatoir on June 18, 1816. It is still a working farm. The farmer keeps the shot he finds in a Rewter pot and is not much troubled with tourists: "There's nothing to see." But is there

othing to hear . . . sometimes .. on quiet summer nights? The 27th Regiment

Iniskillings) fought until they fell, still in their square. A small granite headstone records their noble record of stubborn endurance and Wellington's bleak tre of my line."

You can tell that this was not a man to waste breath on adjectives. Asked if it was true that he shouted, "Up guards and at 'em!", he denied it. "I probabl said, 'Stand up, guarda. Make ready. Firel' " I seem to hear the reporter of the Waterloo Bugle groan. That is not the same thing

The temperamental difference between Napoleon and Wellington is something you can taste. Apart from the obvious: clues, guess which one flung open his jacket, showing his

bemedalled breast, crying, "Soldiers, would you shoot your Emperor?" and which one wrote "PS. I forgot to tell you I was

As Sellar and Yeatman said, Napoleon wore his hat like this and Wellington wore his hat like going to get on. However, I did notice that Wellington had a lifesized, naked, marble statue of Napoleon in his London house.

Odd, really. Waterloo was the last, great, bareknuckle fight. They seem now like another

breed of men. When Lord Paget said, "Good God, my leg's been struck off!" Wellington replied, "Good God, man, so it has." When Marshai Blücher was ridden over by three French cavalry charges, he got up and headed for the sound of gunfire. He was 73. Endurance was a necessary

military virtue before what Queen Victoria was to call "this blessed, blessed chloroform". "For God's sake, die like a

man before these 'ere Frenchies,

a sergeant said to a groaning oldier in a field hospital. Holmes showed us a surgeon's tools, a cannon ball and how to fire it, a musket and how to shoot it. Steven Clarke's imag-

sniff of a horse, gave some real

feeling of a cavalry charge. Napoleon, going into exile, said ironically there would be time to write his memoirs. Wellington did not write How I Won Waterloo. You just knew he

It said in this book I was reading that yawning and groaning are good for you. Nothing like a good groan, apparently, for oxyenating and empowering you. So how come I need a holiday when I get a good hour's yawning and groaning every week with Savannah (ITV)?

Savannah is one of Aaron Spelling's flock of turkeys. Spelling specialises in family feuds and dirty dealings. You will recognise - from the original Dynasty template galvanic plot, the sudden squalls, the impossibility of predicting anyone's behaviour,

sex on a roulette table. Easier than on a roulette wheel. I

sex, the teeth.

the frequent but decently draped

Peyton is the daughter of Lucille, who is behind bors that would hold back a bear, for killing Travis, who was married to Reece, the daughter of Edward, whose wife ran away with the father of Tom because he had an illegitimate daughter. Peyton: (See above.) Oh, do try

and keep up. Next week Edward runs for the Senate and founds a Home for Fallen Women. Tell me how it works out. I'm off.



Mark Lawson

by Ben Elton Simon & Schuster 298pp £12.99

HERE is an inevitable suspicion of novelists already established as celebrities in other fields. They are able to bypass the traditional apprenticeship of fiction and appeal to a ready-made readership. So one of the impressive aspects of Ben Elton's terrific fourth novel is the clear sense that he has worked and worried at the craft. Although his first three books were easy bestsellers, he seems to have comprehended their faults sprawling construction, hectoring tone, fashionable causes — and set himself to correct them.

Popcorn takes place over one day - Academy Awards night in Hollywood - and takes on only one sub ject: the relationship between screen violence and street violence.

Oliver Stone is currently being sued by the family of a murder victim who claim that the killer took his cue from the director's movies. Elton's fictional Oscar-winner, Bruce Delamitri - whose ironic, post-modernist splatter movies are an obvious homage to both Stone and Quentin Tarantino - suffers an terrible than any lawsuit. On the might that Bruce wins the Best Film are the wind beneath my wings and I "Anonymous", the spot-the-author

Colm Tóibín

The Lone Man

by Bernardo Atxaga

translated by Margaret Juli Costa

TOWARDS the end of The Lone

Man, Bernardo Atxaga's second

novel, his hero Carlos, a former

Basque terrorist living outside

Barcelona, looks at the people

around him. "Of all the people he

saw as they drove towards Calle

Aribau, only four seemed to inhabit

the same territory as him: a thin

couple who looked like junkies and

the injured or ill person being trans-

ported in an ambulance with the

siren blaring." Carlos is an existential hero and a Basque in Catalonia.

He enjoys only baking bread, play-

ing with his two dogs and hanging

around an ancient spring close to

the hotel which he and two friends

have bought on the proceeds of a

Carlos likes women, and watches

them carefully, and has built a spe-

cial underground room, a dungeon

with cushions, where he can go with

them. But the new hotel reception-

ist wants nothing to do with him,

This novel is slow and dense and

heavy going at times; often there is

too much detail, too much repeti-

tion. Carlos is plagued by a literary

device whereby two dead charac-

ters whisper comments and warn-

ings into his ear throughout the

book, and most of the time this is ir-

ritating and disconcerting. But his

character is so carefully imagined

and rendered with such precision

and authenticity that the narrative

It would have been easy for Atx-

becomes compelling. .

and in any case two Basque te

lats are hiding in his den.

man who looked like a criminal, a

Harvill £15,99 hdbk; £9,99 pbk

Outsider inside Catalonia



Ben Elton: spirited and intelligent

loodbath, a pair of psychopathic mass-murderers who can recite every line of his films break into the irector's Malibu home and take him hostage with assorted family and colleagues.

This inspired fictional premise is

developed at three equally convincing levels: as a comedy, as a thriller and as a genuine moral debate. Given Ehon's previous form as a comedian and co-writer of the Blackadder scries, the jokes are the least surprising of these achievements. They are, though, very sharp. audience reaction more cruel and Bruce's Oscar acceptance speech -

two of his comrades, with car

chases and cheap thrills, but he has

avoided all of that. He has portrayed

instead with great force a deeply wounded individual, haunted by the

Basque country, by his brother who is in a mental hospital and by a lost

Terrorism in the book is shown

as a dull and unexciting business,

and for this alone Atxaga should be

given a prize. (He has won most of

the Spanish literary prizes.) Carlos's

in the book and yet Atxaga manages

to suggest that Carlos and his two

colleagues in the hotel are still re-

covering from being locked up, and

are, indeed, still incarcerated in the

hotel. They dream of a new life, but

it is clear that he is locked into his

The Lone Man is an old-fash

ioned novel: the lone, male anti-

hero, the outsider, gets small comfort from the world around him,

his gloom and ennui impel the par-

rative. But it is also an interesting

portrait of modern Spain. The

Basque in Catalonia becomes a bril-

liant image of alienated man. And

the future means very much, has a

the legacy of Borges and Juan

Goytlsolo; in this new book he has

moved closer to the world of Sartre

and Comus, and been distracted

somewhat by too many devices, but

the power of the writing is still

there. It is now Atxaga's fate, or

few Basque writers ever to be trans-

lated to have to deal with the lack of

aga to have written a novel about an old terrorist being forced to hide fascinating.

All around him. His progress will be come to be questioned.

In his first novel Atxaga inherited

certain resonance in Spain now.

days on the edge of the motorway.

time in prison is barely mentioned

flap for you ..."—is a fine parody of that notoriously vapid rhetorical form. The extracts from Bruce's film in which suspiciously literate killers deconstruct figures of speech between slayings — also come from a recognisable cinematic reservoir. Pressed by a bimbo television presenter on whether viewers imitate what they see, Bruce smartly replies that If this were true all her own viewers would "have their hair set in concrete and their brain sucked out along with their cellulite". More surprising is the book's

has contrived a stand-off of real tenaion, in which Bruce's kidnappers, Wayne and Scout, broadcast live on every channel in America. The killers, children of the TV age, have asked for a direct feed from the ratings computer, so that they can watch their fame inflate second by second. The story takes a fiendish final twist, which it would be spiteful to reveal, other than to say that the American people are asked to make lives of the hostages. This sacrifice involves such a deeply enshrined modern American right — the right to voyeurism — that they prove unable to make it.

The Transformation of British

Oxford 618pp £50 (£14.99 pbk)

■N THE days when English nation-

alism took the form of simply as-

suming a tacit superiority rather

than painting your face with the

flag, there was no greater object of

veneration than "the English Consti-

tution" - the title, of course, of Wal-

At the outset of his own formida

ble study, Brian Harrison says of

Bagehot: "The English Constitution

is the inevitable starting point for

any account of how British govern-

ment has come to be what it now is."

While Whiggish historians once celebrated the unfolding of a pat-

tern of parliamentary government

that was the envy of the world, his-

torical revisionism now suggests

other perspectives, focused on a de-

cline in confidence in British institu-

tions and a readiness to entertain

constitutional reform. The monar-

liament has lost prestige; politicians

are no longer accorded respect in

model of adversarial politics, legiti-

mated in a two-party system. The

Civil Service, once lauded as a Rolls-

norms of new public management.

Issues of national identity have of-

pursuing an honourable calling.

have not enjoyed this century. Par- as so often earlier elsewhere".

Royce machine, has been cut back, ously shown by both major parties.

chy has tumbled precipitately from

the picture of former terrorists re- the public esteem it enjoyed in the

leased by an amnesty running an post-war period, giving republican

hotel, unsure that either the past or | projects a credibility which they

maybe his good luck, as one of the lits mandarin ethic challenged by the

a literary tradition in his own lan- fered the strongest challenge since

guage and the wealth, almost ex- the Home Rule crisis to the repre-

hausted perhaps, of tradition that is sentative claims of Westminster.

ter Bagehot's classic book.

Politics, 1860-1995

tight plotting. The star of stand-up

This spirited and intelligent book The really startling aspect of the about whether entertainment can book, however, is its stance. If the novel had, in the modern American engender imitation certainly leaves

Britain's flexible friend

Paperbacks

pleces would surely have fingered Richard Littlejohn or Paul Johnson rather than this established jester of

the left. There are grouches about

"self-righteous feminism, the mod-ern equivalent of hiding behind a

woman's petticoats", while the

young are spikily libelled in the line:

Generation X? Generation X-

tremely fucking stupid." The novel

does not, in fact, support censorship

of violent movies. Elton is variously

nide and kind to both sides of the

The target for his anger is more

general: what he sees as an endemic

American tendency to transfer re-

ponsibility to someone else. The

idulterer who declares himself a

ex addict and checks into a clinic.

The child who kills both parents

and blames sexual abuse in child-

hood. The media point the finger at

the politicians; the politicians ac-

cuse the media. The killer accuses

the film-maker; the film-maker in-

dicts society. "Nobody gets blamed

for anything in this country," Bruce

laments at gun-point. "Nothing is anybody's fault." You can easily

imagine these points being made in

some non-fiction tract called

"Blameless Nation". But what's

most impressive about Popcorn is

its integration of story and thought.

The plot-twists detonate the moral

dilemmas, the commentary is in the

Brian Harrison is an admirable

guide to the history that has pro-

duced the state of our current poli-

tics. Having begun with a critical

examination of Bagehot's system as

it existed in the 1860s, Harrison

looks at the influence of empire and

public welfare in fuelling new de-

mands upon it, and at the various

nationalist challenges to the in-

tegrity of the United Kingdom. He

argues that "the flexibility of the

British political system and the re-

sponsiveness of those who manage

it may yet enable us to retain the

cultural, economic, and other benefits of a multi-nation state by the

only means feasible in a liberal soci-

The only other object for which

Harrison manifests such constant

overt Lib-Lab coalition or merger

Just like that! It seems odd in a book

so fruitfully committed to a histori-

cal understanding of British politics.

belief in local self-government".

Nicholas Lezard

Notes From a Small Island, by Bill Bryson (Black Swan, 18.0)

NIGEL WILLIAMS'S Four Wimbledon To Waco about a Brit in America, and a funny. This is about an America over here, and funny. Bryson is two major advantages: he has been over here for some time, and or write. Sample throwaway line: 🏗 all I knew, when a car had an Lole on the back of it, it indicated that was being driven by a leper." M only is this book hilarious, it is farewell love-letter to this country, work of generosity and intelligen that should shame us into treaty our heritage better. Bon vome Bill, and please do come back son

BSE: the Facts, by Brian J Ped (Corgl, £4.99)

THE ONLY fact everyone seed I to agree on is that John Selm Gummer shouldn't have crannel that beef burger into his per daughter's mouth aix years as Still, this has the air of being ! pretty useful book, readable, st prone to hysteria and capable taking the long view. (He also point out the startlingly counter-inhibit fact that kine are, technically, car vores. Check it out: pp 89-91) Als has the best blurb copy ever se: on the back of a book: "It must be read by everyone who eats."

Goethe's Collected Works, Volume 12: Scientific Studies ed & trs Douglas Miller (Princeton, £12.95)

PRINCETON'S 12-volume was represents only about a tenth of output, but it's the best Englished tion we're ever going to get T volume contains large chunks he his scientific writings, and she time has proved many of b theories wrong, he was far les wrong than most of his content raries. His "Theory of Colour" w he thought, the best thing he'd end written; "Towards a Theory Weather" has passages which com close to poetry — understands enough, considering how imput the natural world was to him.

ety: through combining curbs on central government with a genuine Trainspotting: The Screenpli by John Hodge (Faber, £8.99)

Unfashionably maintaining that it A CHTUNG! As you know, i now illegal for any house ain't broke, Harrison is sceptical about any need to fix it — at least in in the country not to (a) have act any respect that breaks with the of Trainspotting: the Novel, have seen Trainspotting: the Marior (c) been to Trainspotting to Play. Torvill and Dean's Trainspotting to the Novel of cremental patch-and-mend style of British constitutional tinkering. Indeed, the monarchy is one of two subjects which bring out unwonted feelings of awe in this otherwise disting on Ice has been held over technical reasons. Trainspo assionate author. Hence his confidetector vans are operating in [8] dence that "the British constitution's flexibility will no doubt ensure that common sense prevails in this area

Books@ / → Guardian We regard is the two-party system. He Proposals for electoral reform re-flect dissatisfaction with the British view that its virtue rests in its cenhas made himself spokesman of the To order any of the books rein print, over 100,000 titles avale trist tendencies. This is all of a piece Phone: (+44) 181 964 1251: with his eminently impartial com-mendation of the liberalism vari-

(+44) 181 964 1264 bid@mail.bogo.qo.uk Payment by credit card or UK/Eund But Harrison has no time for the psyable to: Quardlen Weekly Book suggestion that it was the electoral Poetal address: 29 Pat Mail Depoil. system that helped keep Thatcher in Barlby Road, London W10 68L, UK. power, since all that was needed was

Airmail postage costs (per both Europe Rest of West Harciback — £3,95 £7,50 Paperback — £1.95



Arthur C Clarke at his Colombo home

Clarke's final odyssey

ian Katz in New York and Flora Botsford in Colombo

A RTHUR C CLARKE, the fu-I turist guru and grand old man of science fiction, has completed what he expects to be his ast major flight of fancy, the final volume in the series of novels that began with 2001: A Space

Clarke, aged 79, secreted imself in Colombo's oldest lotel for three months to finish 3001: The Final Odyssey, to be iblished next spring by the New ork company Del-Rey Books.

The deal is understood to be one of the largest yet for a science fiction work. Clarke, who moved to Sri Lanka from his native Britain in 1952 to indulge his passion for scuba diving, will say only: "It's a nine-figure sum, and that's including the cents." Since as a young boy he began

day-dreaming about the future, irthur C Clarke has written more than 70 books. Following the massive success of the 1968 anley Kubrick film 2001: A pace Odyssey, co-written with the director, he penned two more volumes of the futuristic apace adventure.

His latest book is set on Ganymede, Jupiter's largest moon. According to Del-Rey, work on the novel was delayed by the Challenger disaster in 1986, Mr Clarke had hoped to use information from the Galileo ** space probe but had completed

the work by the time the first images of Ganymede were beamed

Mr Clarke is revered not merely for weaving hi-tech fantasies but for predicting technological developments long before anyone else bas dreamt of them. As a young RAF officer, he de-

scribed a system of "rocket ata-tions" in fixed orbits over the earth that might some day be used to beam communication between different points on the earth's surface. Now communi cation via geostationary satellites is taken for granted.

The final novel in the Space Odvasey series explores the idea of cyber-warfate, one of Mr Clarke's current preoccupations. "If the technology was available, computers could cause havoc with things like defence systems," he says.

The author is largely confined syndrome. He stays abreast of echnological developments, keeping in touch with a network of scientists via the Internet, and monitoring the beavens with his roof-top telescope.

He is now resting after comeleting 3001: A Final Odyssey, and says he is in the process of teaching his computer how to "take dictation". Meanwhile he is following news of Hollywood interest in his latest book with relish. "My agent is dealing with over 80 offers - but of course Stanley Kubrick has first refusal."

A man for all futuristic seasons

On the eve of the publication of his new short stories, sci-fi author Ray Bradbury talks to Tom Hutchinson

throats by quoting Ray Bradbury. Their exodus from Moses directs them into the promised lands of the veteran science fiction writer Bradbury discovered that some

Bible-belters were getting uplift from him when they wrote to thank inn. "I was so flattered. I had letters saying that some of them were reading my more optimistic fiction from he pulpit. And the congregations were going for it!"

So what did he do? What any American go-getter would do. Like one of the pioneering people about whom he wrote so persuasively in The Martian Chronicles and The Golden Apples Of The Sun, he leapt m the bandwagon of the main

To coincide with the September sublication of Quicker Than The eye, a book of short stories, be's also written A Chap-Book For Burnt-Out Rabbis, Priests And Ministers. That's specially for those who would like an alternative. I may not believe in their personal religions, out I have tremendous faith in the Cosmos, in the Life Force for good."

A forgivable belief in himself, too. As the premiere of the specticular science-fiction movie Independence Day looms over Britain like a vast mother-ship, Bradbury has taken out an advertisement in Daily Variety urging that The Martian Chronicle be similarly filmed. "The ad cost me 4,000 bucks, but I wanted producers to know it was still available."

Raymond Douglas Bradbury is 76 next month, but he is still a mighty player on America's literary and media scene, proclaiming that independence Day proves something he nas always said, something filmmakers were too stupid to understand: that fantasy always makes money at the box-office."

"You know, Independence, with its threat of alien invasion, is a throwback to the paranoid SF film

HEN American preachers choke on the Old Testanent, they clear their of the fitties, The Day The World Stood Still or my own It Came From Outer Space. With this new film the aliens mean us harm. To that extent it's anti-ET or Close Encounters Of The Third Kind, with creatures that meant us good. Once again we're under threat."

Christopher Isherwood called Bradbury a poet; chubby and bespectacled, he is still a man with a head full of singing birds, though now they've been orchestrated to sing to a pitch that makes him one of the richest writers around. He has become a literary superstar. The Apollo 15 astronauts named a ifter his book Dandelion Wine. His creativity still revs at top-

it is not that people in Hollywood are naturally dishonest: just that some of them

feel they have to be'

speed. The man who carned his first money in literature at the ageof 15, by writing gags for cornedian George Burns, has just written a treatise for The Shaw Society with a title as unwieldy as its ideas are supple - GBS: Refurbishing The Tin Woodman; Science Fiction With A Heart, A Brain And The Nerve, It's the Shavian idea of a life-force to

which he corresponds. He speaks with brimming enthusiasm: "I know it sounds painfully corny, but every minute of being dive is an adventure, a festival of liscovery." Part of that ongoing euphoria is in being married to Maggie, who has borne him four daughters, so that he now has seven

But, for a writer, he has had a life rich in physical incldent outside his rendous was scripting Moby Dick for John Huston who, while they ers to beat him up because of a disagreement. Bradbury escaped the boxers, but not the trauma of the

Years later, he went up to the great man in a restaurant. "I want you to know I forgive you," he said.
"You changed my life." Maggie said: "But you hate him so. Why did you do that?" Bradbury responded: "But he did change my life - for the better. After Moby Dick I could take my talent anywhere." He wrote a novel about Huston, though, to fully exorcise the experience from his

He has always seen Hollywood as, literally, a Planet Hollywood: a place where human beings become olien in their dealings with each other. When he was asked to script The Beast From 20,000 Fathoms be realised it had been plagiarlsed from his own story, The Foghorn. Shannefacedly, the producer paid up

"It's not that people in Hollywood are naturally dishonest; it's just that some of them feel that they have to

Ray Bradbury bears no grudges but he wishes that movies had happier endings, "What I mean is that villains should get their comeuppance . . . Films are for solving lit Not for making it more difficult "

He plans mightily ahead He wants to write another treatise, on the way Herman Melville's Mobe Dick resembles Jules Verne's Twenty Thousand Leagues Under The Sea: "Captain Ahab is the reverse of Captain Nemo. And I can

prove it in so many ways." He left me to go on holiday with his beloved Maggie in his beloved France. A man who has seen his dreams become reality around him. A renaissance man for all futuristic

Later, I got a note thanking me for being his guest at luncheon. He had paid for the hunch. They don't make men with manners like that these days. Unless, of course, they

Kiss and make up

Darian Leader

On Kissing: From the Metaphysical to the Erotic by Adrianne Blue Gollancz 224pp £14.99

A T WHAT moment is it best to stop talking and to start kissing? Some people, it would seem, prefer talking and others prefer kissing, but it is certain that you can't do both at the same time. Kissing may do away with speaking, but a kiss has always got something to say.

kisses, you know a lot about that person. You know what they have kissed themselves and you know, Kisses themselves can be greedy, meek, impertinent, uncommunicative. They can be dry, moist, wet, transitory, interminable. They can, telling which becomes, for the barrier of klssing.

Adrienne Blue, have turned their at-tention to kissing, have concluded that the erotic kiss has its source in the suckling relation of child to mother. This is unsound. Suckling and kissing are fundamentally different activities, in the sense that suckling is not initially a learnt activity, but kissing is. For many men, the only thing that matters about a woman's bosom is the success - or failure - of making the nipple erect. If there is indeed a link to in the discontinuities of the kiss -ing, of withdrawing.

Kissing, as its historics show, la a been doing, or not doing, you know sign. The Christian klss of peace, if they believe in romance or lust, the Judas klss of betrayal, the divine you know how they would like to be kiss which impregnates the Virgin. the kiss of salutation, the Malia kiss too, if they have been to the movies. | of death - they all show how an action, by taking on disparate meanings, can become a sign of something elso. Hence the question, to what extent is an erotic kiss a in short, tell you a lot. It is this | sign? Does it point, like those other kisses, to something else or is it an lover, both the sweetness and the end, a satisfaction in itself? Some men have the curious idea that if an-Many of the scholars who, like other creature consents to a kiss.

that means that intercourse will follow. How can we be sure that a kiss might not mean more, or less, than we think? And if we think after a kiss, what happens when, in kissing, we think? Perhaps the real problem of kissing is exactly that: since the kiss is a sign, it makes us think, but if we think when we kiss, we botch

Adrienne Blue's volume cataogues not just the erotic kiss, but the kiss in (some) literature, history, photography and sculpture. She devotes one section of her book to a discussion of Rodin's "The Kiss". kissing, it will not be in sucking but It is a fact that if all the world loves a lover, not all the world loves the man love him because they think that he is not thinking, but enjoying. The public kisser would be hated half as much if it was realised that his or her kiss was, already, half a thought.

> **NEW AUTHORS** PUBLISH YOUR WORK Fiction, Non-Fiction, Biography, Religious, Poetry, Childrens',

AUTHORS WORLD-WIDE INVITED Write or send your manuscript to MINERVA PRESS



N AN angry, screeching wheeze, a harassed female grey squirrel at the bottom of the garden has had enough of male squirrels behaving badly, and is giv-ing them what for. She's not the only one. A shrill chorus of conservation and land-owning agencies has also got it in for grey squirrels. And if they have their way the pesky varmints won't breed. Ever.

Grey squirrels have been trouble ever since they were introduced to Britain from North America in the late 19th century. They stand accused of criminal damage to young trees; egg-stealing and disrupting nesting birds; nicking nuts from bird tables; and, most seriously causing the decline of the red squirrel. For their punishment, they must he cleansed: shot, poisoned, trapped, infected with an impotency virus. And why not? After all, they're only tree-rats, invading aliens, vermin.

The British population of red squirrels peaked at several million In 1915, but began to fall from 1920 and has now crashed to 160,000. The grey squirrel population has meanwhile risen to 21/million.

Greys are better at digesting nuts. Reds are fussier about nuts, but are much lighter animals and need to bulk up for hibernation. So if the greys have nabbed all the nuts, it's curtains for the reds. This has led to renewed efforts to protect the woods where red squirrels survive and to proposals to attack the greys. According to a recent discovery, grey squirrels may have introduced a disease into red squirris that is hastening their decline.

The strategy for red squirrel conservation, launched this month. comes from an alliance of powerful interests. The Country Landowners Association, the Forestry Commission and the Timber Growers Association do not just want to protect the red squirrel: they have been waging war on greys for decades because of the damage greys cause to



biological diversity, and to crusade

the legal protection of the endangered red squirrel, as well as scienlific institutions and wildlife groups, are there to protect and enhance biodiversity. In short, the dice are loaded against grey squirrels.

Although the effort to protect red squirrels and their habitats is to be applauded, the strategy for cleansing Britain of grey squirrels raises mportant issues which deserve a

"Wildlife" emerged as a concept studded with images of "flagship" species in conservation circles. Our endearing native red, with its Squirrel Nutkin associations, offers a powerful image. By contrast the greys fly the Jolly Roger and are prey to the xenophobia levelled at "invasive alien species". Ecological intervention tends to champion cerwoodland. Agencies charged with I tain aspects of nature and forms of

opponents and then scored 5/6 against GMs. Sadler was favourite to retain his title when the annual BCF congress opened last week at Nottingham University. More than 700 players are contesting the national championships for women, veterans, and age-group titles for juniors and girls, down to under-sevens.

> M Sadler (Eng) v V Burmakin (Rus)

4 cxd5 exd5 5 Bg5 Few GMs like to defend the Queen's Gambit exchange variation since Black's game

Be7 6 e3 h6 7 Bh4 0-0 8 Bd3 Nbd7 9 Nge2 b6 10 0-0 c5 11 against others. Conservation is seen Rc1 Bb7 12 Bb1 c4 13 f3 Re8 14 Bf2 a6 15 Ng3 Bd6 16 Re1 Reaction to "problem" alien b5 17 a3 Qb6 18 Nf5 Bc7 19 Qd2 a5 20 a4 b4. Black's unsophisticated strategy — gaining Lebensraum on the Q-side but ignorowe it to the red squirrel to do what ing the rest of the board — often appears in amateur chess. Sadier rewe can to help it back from the ates it in classical style by driving Black's rook and bishop out, then complete removal of grey squirrels breaking through in the centre.

n Britain would not be tolerated by 21 Nb5 Bb8 22 e4! dxe4 23 the public, even if it were possible, d5 Qa6 24 d6 Bc6 If exf3 25 Rxe8 how much of a slaughter should we Nxe8 26 Qd4 fxg2 27 Re1 is crushing, 25 Ne7+ Kf8 26 Nxc6 Qxc6 sanction in the process? There is much more at stake here than a sim-27 Qd4 Ne5 If exf3 28 Rxe8+ ple choice between red and grey. Nxe8 (Kxe8 29 Rxc4) 29 Be4 wins.

28 Bxe4 Nxe4 29 Rxe4 f6 30 f4 Nf7 31 Rxe8+ Qxe8 32 d7 of her own, But she needs moral Qd8 33 Re1 Be5 Desperation against 34 Re8+.

Chess Leonard Barden

BRITAIN'S 22-year-old champion Matthew Sadler has made 34 fxe5 Nxe5 35 Qd5 R signs. If Nxd7 36 Nd6 Ne5 37 Rx6 another move towards the top eche-Following Oberwart and an ea lon of world chess by winning the traditional Austrian Open at Oberwart with an unbeaten 8/9.

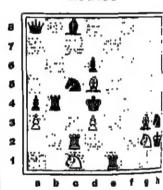
lier first prize in Italy, Sadler's Fide rating will advance to 2,645, when he will join Nigel Short and Michael Oberwart is always one of the Adams among the world top 30 play strongest European opens due its geographical convenience for the ers. His fine form has sparked some large number of hungry Russian, ing optimism among UK chess fant for next month's olympiad at Yen-van, where England (Short, Adam, Speelman, Sadler, Hodgson, Mile) Ukrainian and Serbian grandmasters who arrive in their battered Ladas and normally depart loaded ahould be seeded third after Russia with Deutschmarks. Despite such (Kasparov, Kramnik, Dreev, Svidle) powerful opposition, Sadler won his first three rounds against unrated and Hungary (Polgar, Leko, Almed

England has won the Glores and Faber cups for West Europea under-18 teams. Here's a top board queen sacrifice:

M Houska (Eng) v K Roser (Fm)

1 d4 Nf6 2 Nf3 e6 3 Bg5 c5 4 e3 Be75 c3 b6 6 Bd3 cxd4 7 exd4 Ba6 8 Bza6 Nxa6 9 0-0 0-0 10 Qd3 Nc7 11 Ne516 12 Nd2 Qe8 13 f4 d6 14 Bxf6 Bxf6 l5. Ng4 Be7 16 f5 exf5 17 Rxf5 g6 18 No. Qd8 19 Nef6+ Bxf6 20 Nxf6+ Kg/2 Raf1 a6 22 Oh3 h6 23 R1f3 Qct 21 Qxh6+ Kxh6 25 Rh3+ Resigns.

No 2434



gainst any defence (by W Barchs) Black's king is stranded, but watch out for near misses.

No 2433: 1 Rg1, if Rxg1 2 d7 Rg6 3 Qa1. if 1 . . . Rg3 2 Rg2l if Rb2? Rc1 and 3 Rc4, Not 1 Rc1? Rxg6.

Golf US PGA Championship

GUARDIAN WEEKLY

Brooks springs a major surprise

David Davise in Louisville

A ARK BROOKS beat the finest field ever assembled when he won the 78th US PGA championship at the Valhalla Golf Club here on Sunday. He beat Kenny Perry, a native Kentuckian, n a sudden-death play-off conducted over the 18th hole when Perry traced a sad trail up the lefthand rough and did not even finish

Brooks, by contrast, found the green in two, hit a putt of all of 70 feet to five feet and holed that for the championship and \$430,000. It was his first major and his third ournament victory of the season. It was also easily his best performance in a major, beating the third place he achieved in the Open Championship of 1995. It was his sixth playoff and he now has a 4-2 winning record in them. He also goes over the 41 million mark this season with \$1.290.576 (about £869.000).

The last nine holes and been a dogfight between Perry, Brooks Vijay Singh and the defending champion Steve Elkington. The lead changed hands constantly as the rough, his second into more rough four men oscillated between nine | and his third just left of the green. A | place to come back from."

and 12 under, although it was Perry who was setting the pace, given that he was out three groups in front of take it was Brooks. Elkington and the others. This was as a result of | Singh both needed birdies at the Saturday's 71, a birthday score he was 36 — during which, he said,

he felt exceedingly nervous.
On Sunday he had birdied the 13th with a 15-footer downhill that just reached the hole with its last roll and then birdied the short 14th with a 20-footer to get to 12 under. That was almost as good as an eagle, for the pin at this hole was set at the front of the green, almost impossible to get at from the tee, and ogeys were common

Perry looked like letting nerves get the better of him at the 15th, where his second shot disappeared into trees and came to rest among the roots of a tree. "I was very furtunate there," said Perry of his recovery shot. The ball was resting on bare dirt." He not only got it on the green; he got it to four feet and secured his par,

Eventually he came to the 18th still 12 under, needing a birdie to make matters safe. He bogeyed instead, hitting his drive into the

Football FA Charity Shield: Manchester United 4 Newcastle United 0

Champions show Keegan no charity

18th but Singh drove into a bunker on the way to a bogey and Elkington buried his ball in a greenside bunker on the way to a par.

Brooks, who had been 12 under

as early as the 8th, slumped to nine under after 14 but birdied the 15th and then hit a huge drive up the 18th. Like Elkington he found the front bunker with his second but Perry, now commentating on television, said "he's a great bunker player" and so it proved. He came out to five feet, holed the putt firmly and went into the play-off.

It has been a disappointing championship for Nick Faldo. On Sunday he produced a 73, although this because of the way the course had been set up, was a better effort than either of his two previous rounds. There were some very tough pir positions out there," he commented

The course beat me, I've got lot of work to do, unfortunately After four holes of the second roun I was 10 behind and that's a tough

Test ends in draw

HE SECOND Test between shape, buying players and manager England and Pakistan drifted ial staff in a hectic, last-minute bar to a draw on Monday after heavy rain deprived the Headingley crowd of what might have been a compelling final session of play on

Sports Diary Shiv Sharma

England at that stage had the upper hand after amassing 501 in reply to Pakistan's 448. The high-light of the visitors' innings was 141 runs by Ijaz Ahmed and 105 from Moin Khan - the first centuries by any Pakistanis at Headingley. England hit back with two centuries of their own, a fluent 170 by Alec Stewart and 113 from Nick Knight — his

Under grey skies, Pakistan open ers Saced Anwar and Shadab Kabir came out to begin their side's second innings proceedings shortly after 5pm on Sunday. The umpires offered them the light, they accepted, and minutes later the heavens opened up. Pakistan were 242 for 7 when the game ended. They lead the series 1-0.

PETER LEVER is to quit his job as England's bowling coach at the end of the season. It follows reports of a rift with team coach David Lloyd, who is believed to have ruffled his former Lancashire team-



Peter Lever: retiring hurt?

mate's feathers with training techniques that include the playing of patriotic music in the dressing room. Lever refused to comment on the allegations, and Lloyd insisted there was no conflict.

THE man who would be king has finally got his crown. Sachin

ORMER Australian Test off-spinner Tim May has an

Lee Sharpe left Mancheste United to join Leeds in a £4 million swoop. The England winger had failed to hold down a regular place in the Double-winning side last season and the arrival of Karel Poborsky and Jordi Cruyff at Okl Trafford left him with an uphill task to regain a first-team place. So he

opted to move. Sharpe's arrival followed the departure from the Elland Road chil of midfield duo Gary McAllister and Gary Speed to Coventry and Ever

on respectively. Wolverhampton signed French right-back Serge Romano from FC Martigues on a free transfer, and Coventry completed the signing of 22-year-old Belgian international Reggie Genuux from Standard Liege for C1 million.

Also on the move was goalkeepe Bruce Grobbelant, Released by Southampton at the end of last season, the Zimbabwe international signed a 12-month contract with the Second Division newcomers Plymouth Argyle. The club also ob ained the services of tormer Leicester City central defender Tony James from Hereford United. with his fee to be determined by a tribunat.

Former England coach Terry Venables agreed to become Portsmouth's new director of football. He said: "I have had more substantial offers from abroad but at this time I need to be close to

Meanwhile in a shock move Arse nal dismissed Bruce Rioch from the post of team manager. The club said hey had found a successor but declined to name him.

RITISH police say they are win ning the fight against football hooliganism. Figures from the Football Unit of the National Criminal Intelligence Service show a decline in soccer-related arrests for the fourth year running. Arrests during the 1995-96 season both inside and outside grounds totalled 3,437 --- 10 per cent down on the previous season. Euro 96, despite dire warnings turned out to be a remarkably

NGLAND are running out of time in their bid to be reinstated in the Five Nations Cham pionships. The Rugby Football Union's attempt to reach a compromise in the row over their £89 million solo television deal has been rejected for a second time.

rouble-free tournament.

The competition's other four ganising their own schedule by the end of this month, But Tom Kier nan, chairman of the Five Nations Committee, said he still hoped agreement could be reached with

S IRIMONGKOL Singlumanassuk of Thailand won the World Boxing Council's bantamweight title --vacated by Ireland's Wayne McCullough - when he stopped Mexican WITH the English soccer season due to get under way on Saturday, clubs were limbering into

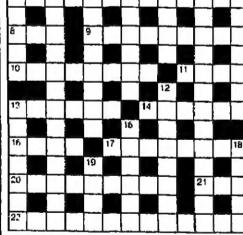
Bridge Zia Mahmood

- Nickname of Florida (8.5) 8 Sailor (3) 9 Skilled
- craftsman (9) 1 Yield (4)
- 13 In excess of (6) 14 Confidential (6) 16 Telephone - or visit (4)
- 17 Dangerous (8) 20 Random (9) 21 Pin (3)

22 Stocking Supporter (9.4)

1 Fight (3-2) -begin working

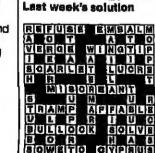
- 2 Areas for novice skiers (7.6) 3 Promontory (8)
- 4 Idea(6) 5 Secure - place for valuables (4)
- 6 Parisian landmark (3,2,8) 7 Fervent - could



Importance (7) 13 God of wine and

12 Baffle (8) pleasure (7) 15 Look at - and respect (6) 18 Vision - or eyesore (5) 19 Come to -a

party (4)



The grey squirrel at the bottom of

the garden has a very capable voice

y some as protecting the nature we

species involves moral decisions.

Who makes those decisions and in

what way are they accountable? We

Although it is accepted that the

like from the nature we don't.

brink of extinction.

| FYOU are one of those people who cries at tragic dramas, go and fetch a box of tissues before you read on. The story I am about to tell is one of the most heart-rending ever to happen at the bridge table. First, a bidding problem. Take

63 VAKQJ1086 +4 4862

You are playing for serious. but not ruinous stakes. Both sides are vulnerable. South, your right-hand opponent, opens with a strong NT showing 15-17

points. What call do you make There are a number of possibilities, and your answer will owe something to personality. The conservative will try two hearts, the more daring will bid three bearts, and the eternal optimist will jump to four hearts. But there is another course of action.

What about a penalty double? Chances are that your left-hand opponent is looking at a few high cards, and is confident that his side can make 1NT. He might even be confident enough to redouble! You have seven tricks in your own hand, and if your part-

ner can produce no more than a solitary ace, the opponents will concede a 1,000 penalty in 1NT redoubled, despite their com-bined 26 points. An attractive prospect — and if it does not turn out as you hope, you can always bid your heart sult at a later stage.

Whatever you have chosen to bid, I bet that you haven't selected the call that was actually made. The West player who held these cards was of a highly creative nature — can you guess what he bid?

If you guessed two diamonds, then, like the actual West, you have plenty of imagination. This is what happened (see table). North-South fell headlong into

the trap that West had set for them. His psychic diamond overcall persuaded North-South that they had nothing to fear in a no trump game, but in practice they were booked for a penalty of 1,600. Why then, you may wonder, is this a tale of such sorrow? Surely West's action was the stuff of which epics, not tragedies, are made?

In the excitement, East had lost track of the auction. Believing that North had bid no trumps

+A 10 7 ¥43 ♦ KJ 10 2 **★**KQ84 **♥AKQJ1086** 1093 ♠ KJ2

North

¥975

1NT 2. Redble No Dble No first, and that it was therefore h

lead, he quickly detached a middlamond from his hand and no Double. before the horrified West could stop him, had placed it face up the table! Of course, South etc. cised his option to compel cised his option to compard is amond lead from West, and the contract was made with an overtrick for a score of 1,400 with the rubber bonus to North South. Even the Sphinx would have shed a tear for West.

Up, up and away . . . Manchester United's David Beckham on his David Lacey at Wembley

CR Manchester United another successful season beckons; for Newcastle United the defence rests. the game on Sunday offered Old Trafford strong reminders of how the championship was regained and St James' Park uncomfortable memories of how it was lost.

More than 45,000 Newcastle supporters thronged Wembley in eager inticipation of seeing Alan Shearer hrow down a £15 million gauntlet that would leave Manchester United numbed with self-doubt, Double or

in the event Newcastle were, for die most part, all fingers and lumbs. Alex Ferguson's team won the most passionate Charity Shield match in living memory by the secand biggest margin since the occasion moved to the stadium, and did o moreover without an orthodox centre-forward.

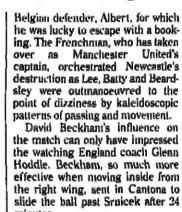
Kevin Keegan offered no excuses

for a Newcastle performance that fell way below last season's high standards. "Manchester United's 4-0 win was about right," he confessed. There was an enormous gulf between the two sides today.

While Shearer, closely watched by May and poorly supplied with passes and crosses throughout, struggled to make an impact, Manchester United consistently exploited the gaps left by inept Newcastle defending.

Two goals in six minutes left Keegan's side chasing the match. Two more in three minutes towards the end left Newcastle to ponder the un-comfortable truth that it will take more than the vision of the chairman, Sir John Hall, to bring the league title to Tyneside for the first time in 70 years. Only Nottingham Forest, who beat Ipswich 50 in 1978. have won the Shield more em-

phatically at Wembley. Cantona was quite superb, apart from one incident with Newcastle's | doubled.



Hoddle. Beckham, so much more effective when moving inside from the right wing, sent in Cantona to slide the ball past Sruicek after 24 On the half-hour he gathered

pack-heeled flick from Cantona before centring for Butt to head in the second. Butt later went off with a concussion apparently shared by the opposing defence. Newcastle established an attack-

ing presence in the second half once Ginola began to roam and Asprilia had replaced a labouring Beardsley. But Schmeichel was sel-dom troubled and, with two of Ferguson's summer signings, Karel Poborsky and Jordi Cruyff, now ugmenting their attack, the chanpions mopped up.

In the 85th minute Beckhain strode on to a Cantona pass and lobbed the advancing Srnicek. Two kick square for Kenne to score an

comphatic fourth,
"We've got to defend as well as
score goals," said Shearer, who had
failed to hit the target, "and we
didn't even do that today."

"Poborsky and Cruyff showed that you don't have to pay exorbitant prices to get brilliant value," said Ferguson a little machievously. Nobody mentioned Andy Cole.

who now looks a snip at £7 million. Like his old team he had caught pneumonia, except that in Newcastle's case the dose on Sunday was



Tendulkar has been named as India's cricket captain. He takes over from Mohammad Azharuddin, who departs after seven years at the helm. At 23, Tendulkar becomes his country's second-youngest captain after the Nawab of Pataudi, who was 21 when he assumed command in in Sri Lanka later this month.

nounced his retirement. The 34-year-old, who took 75 wickets in 24 Tests, is quitting to concentrate on his business interests.



Quick crossword no. 327